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EDITORIAL

Gerald Ford, Nixon's replacement has come out for "leniency" for what he calls "draft dodgers" and "deserters." In a speech given before the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) Ford said: "I foresee their earned re-entry into a new atmosphere of hope, hard work, and mutual trust. . . . As I reject amnesty, I reject revenge."

For Nixon, however, there will be total, unconditional pardon. His crimes are forgiven, he is protected from prosecution no matter how many more of his criminal acts may be uncovered in the future. Nixon has, in the words of the new president, "suffered enough." Perhaps the \$650,000 requested for transition expenses, and the \$2 million projected fee for Nixon's "true" story of Watergate will help him suffer less. Nixon is an out-and-out criminal; he should be dealt with as a criminal, not freed from punishment. Meanwhile, it is clear that war resisters—who are not criminals, will be soundly punished before Ford's "leniency" takes command.

No where was there mention of the 500,000+ less-than-honorable discharges handed out during the Vietnam era. No mention, either, of the hundreds of thousands of people now living underground in this country as a result of having gone AWOL or refusing to register for the draft. No mention of clearing the records of those resisters who served prison terms. And, most important, no mention of the central issue of the amnesty campaign: that, because of the imperialist nature of the Vietnam War, the resisters were right.

The anti-imperialist amnesty movement is growing: the government had to do something. Ford, riding on the wave of temporary euphoria which followed Nixon's elinking away from the White House, went just as far as he thought was necessary to undercut the peoples' movement for amnesty. Concentrating on the well-publicized exiles, Ford completely separated them from the hundreds of thousands of poor, third world, and working class vets and resisters to whom amnesty must be granted. With great political shrewdness, Ford chose an audience which would trumpet the most reactionary position on amnesty and thus make the Ford position seem that much more progressive.

Ford has now made public the government tactic which we of VVAW/WSO predicted a year ago. He will try to divide the amnesty movement by co-opting those segments of the movement who refuse to recognize that the real problem is imperialism. For those of us who have been building the anti-imperialist amnesty movement, our task and slogans remain the same:

**SINGLE-TYPE DISCHARGE FOR ALL VETS
UNIVERSAL AND UNCONDITIONAL
AMNESTY FOR ALL WAR RESISTERS**

GARY LAWTON to ANGELA DAVIS

An Open Letter

In June 1974 Gary Lawton was asked to speak at a rally sponsored by the Southern California affiliate of the National Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression. Angela Davis, one of the chairpersons of the Alliance was to be one of the other speakers. In refusing to speak on that occasion, Gary, a member of VVAW/WSO, wrote the following letter of explanation to Angela Davis, a leading member of the Alliance and the Communist Party, USA.

During the period when Angela Davis was the focus of the struggle against repression, Gary freely and fully did all that was asked of him by the Angela Davis Defense Committee in support of that struggle. The Defense Committee, and the Alliance which is its successor, promised to actively support Gary. In fact there has been no support. As mentioned in the letter, similar promises were made to Ruchell Magee; those promises were also broken. The National Steering Committee of VVAW/WSO feels that it is in the interests of political prisoners around the country that the practice of the Alliance in these cases be public knowledge. The following letter was handed to Angela Davis during the above-mentioned rally.

Riverside, California
June 13, 1974

Angela,

I was recently asked by the Southern California Alliance Against Racism and Political Repression, to participate along with you and other speakers at a rally to be held at the Embassy Auditorium on the night of June 14, 1974.

As much as I may, for other reasons, regret it, I feel that I must decline the Alliance's invitation owing to the fact that I cannot participate in a program with an individual (or group of individuals) whom do not have the best interest of all oppressed people and political prisoners at heart, and whether it is of any significance to you or not, I want you to know that the foregoing statement is dictated solely of you.

Since your incarceration in the Marin Court House thing, you have done little to nothing in giving the same meaningful, consistent support to other political prisoners that was so eagerly and selflessly given to you at that time in your life, when you most needed help.

By this I mean, that since your release from incarceration you, and those around you, have engaged in a phony game of "Selective Support" of a few political prisoners and dealt with one or two issues (and those in a very half-hearted five manner), but for the most part you seem not to give a damn about what is happening to the mass of both political prisoners and subjugated people as a whole here in the wilderness nation of Amerikkka.

If you can support Bro. Ben Davis in North Carolina, then why can't you give that same kind of righteous support to Ruchell Magee; and while I'm on the subject of Ruchell Magee, ask yourself this, whom is more deserving of your total support, help and encouragement than Ruchell.

But no, you have turned your back on Ruchell, just as you have turned your back on dealing with the real issues of fascist oppression in this country.

You are now making a big to do about repression in North Carolina. You seem to have lost sight of the fact that what is happening in North Carolina is taking place everywhere here in this wilderness nation; and if that were not so George and Jonathan Jackson would be alive today, the Attica massacre would not have happened, Martin Luther and those he represents wouldn't be waging a single-handed life and death struggle behind bars on the most outrageous form of frame-up, and Zerkie Gardner and I wouldn't be facing a third trial in as many years for an act we didn't commit.

My sister, you have lost touch with the people; and worse than that, you have become an ego tripping hypocrite and a sell-out to the very cause you once seemed to believe so fervently in.

Respectfully,
(signed)
Kell Moran, Sr.
Slave name--Gary Lawton

BOGUS AMNESTY



Chicago Amnesty Demonstration

President Ford has jumped on the amnesty bandwagon. He has decreed universal, unconditional pardon for Nixon and, at the same time, a highly conditional amnesty for some 10% of the war resisters.

In his first presidential speech outside Washington DC, Ford bounced the idea of conditional amnesty off the reactionary heads of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW). With this speech he created a wave of publicity about the "new spirit of reconciliation" in the Whitehouse. But the clemency board (case-by-case review), the alternative service, bad discharges for returning deserters all show the real nature of the government's so-called "amnesty."

It wasn't soft spots in their hearts that persuaded Ford and his advisors to give "leniency" to the deserters and exiles, any more than it was "compassion" that got Nixon off the book. Vets with less-than-honorable discharges weren't even considered in Ford's amnesty plans and that omission wasn't just by chance, either. The Vietnam War and the protests against it have bugged the imperialists for years; the defeat they took at the hands of the Indochinese people has bugged them even more. Pressure from the American people helped get the US combat troops out of Vietnam, and that pressure came from exposing the real nature of the imperialist war. No longer would the American people stand for the extension and protection of US exploitation of the raw materials and labor power of the Indochinese for the sake of increased profit for American corporations.

The growing amnesty movement holds the same threat for the US government, because universal, unconditional amnesty requires that they admit that their exploits in Southeast Asia were wrong--not just a blunder, but the conscious design of US imperialism. Of course, they can't afford that kind of exposure, so they hang on hoping that the American people will somehow forget the war. And, at the same time,

they hope the American people will not see and understand that our tax dollars are being shipped off to Thieu in South Vietnam and Lon Nol in Cambodia in order to keep that war going. But they also know that so long as amnesty is a loud, visible issue, the war won't be forgotten.

Shrewdly, Ford picked only one segment of the war resisters deserving amnesty. Ever since amnesty became an issue in this country, the exiles and deserters have gotten the majority of the attention and publicity even though they are the smallest section of resisters (50,000 exiles as opposed to 560,000 less-than-honorably discharged vets, or an estimated 200,000 resisters living underground). And, for the most part, exiles are not the sons and daughters of the working class; they are not third world nor poor. Clearly, Ford hopes that his conditional amnesty proposal will divert the growing militance and strength of the anti-imperialist amnesty movement; in a blatant insult to the intelligence of the American people, he hopes to trick these people whose concept of amnesty includes only the deserters and exiles into believing that amnesty, like the war, is a dead issue.

Nonsense. The American people know better. What does the Ford amnesty do for the vets with less-than-honorable discharges? Nothing. These vets, who are overwhelmingly third-world, poor, or working class, will still carry the lifetime brand of a bad discharge, no VA benefits, and no jobs. (Meanwhile, a real criminal will live in government financed estates in San Clemente counting his profits from memoirs about his Watergate crimes.) The resisters now living in hiding in this country--they are still in jeopardy whenever their records are checked for a simple traffic violation--Ford's amnesty does nothing for them either. They are predominantly third-world and poor. Ford's amnesty reeks with the same class distinctions that were so obvious in the war itself--the rich man's war, poor man's

fight.

Ford's amnesty means case-by-case review; politically active exiles, those who pose a potential threat to the imperialists, will find their path filled with obstacles. Alternative service is another sorry option. Many exiles could have performed alternative service in the first place, but they knew--and still know--that they would not serve in an imperialist war, even to the extent of alternative service.

What kind of change does Ford's bogus amnesty mean even for the exiles and deserters? Damn little. Deserters who have returned to the military have been getting administrative discharges all along--the military doesn't want the hassle of paperwork and the publicity about the thousands who deserted rather than fight for American corporations. And few exiles who have returned have been severely punished. But Ford's perspective was not to give amnesty, even the most conditional kind; it was to co-opt and defuse the amnesty movement. That's why he chose the most reactionary discharges he could find, the VFW, to announce his new-look policy. Given the Stone Age mentality of VFW leadership, Ford knew they would blare out their flag-waving opposition to any hint of amnesty. That made Ford look more progressive, and made what is basically the old policy appear to be new and different.

Ford rushed into an amnesty position which Nixon couldn't take: with his hard-line stand on amnesty, Nixon had painted himself into a corner. But despite the new trimmings, the Nixon position and the Ford position are basically the same. This helps account for Ford's "amnesty" for Nixon--full pardon with no alternative service or review. Nixon's crimes against the people--the continuing war, welfare cuts, the bombing of Cambodia--are Ford's crimes too, and the crimes of the entire class they represent; for these crimes there can be no amnesty. Nixon is a criminal; war resisters are not criminals, because they rightly resisted an imperialist, wrong war.

The amnesty movement and VVAW/WSO will continue to demand universal, unconditional amnesty for all war resisters, never for war-makers. Vets with bad discharges will continue to demand an end to discriminatory discharges and the institution of a single-type discharge for all vets. We have learned that if we are to win these demands, we will have to fight for them. The National Program of VVAW/WSO (see the centerfold of the paper) shows how we will carry on that fight.

(For further information on our position on amnesty, a 12-page booklet is available from the VVAW/WSO national office and from most regional offices.)

Mass Anger Ousts Nixon

KICKED OUT!

Unsafe at Any Speed President Gerald R. Ford



Nixon's gone--kicked out of office. The man who replaced American troops with American tax dollars in Vietnam, who lied about "peace with honor" (which is neither "honorable" nor "peaceful") has been forced into retirement behind the stone walls of his tax-financed California fortress. Nixon was an enemy of the people. We should celebrate his departure.

Nixon was ousted for 2 reasons: the first being that there was mass pressure for him to get out of office in the form of the anger and struggle of the people of this country; and the second, because the people who run this country--the huge corporate business interests--saw the growing unity among the American people, and saw that Nixon could no longer serve in the best interests of business.

The crisis facing imperialism today is real. Imperialism works for one motive: profit and power. It uses whatever forms of exploitation will make profit and power the greatest. But around the world people are saying no. Countries like Vietnam are fighting for liberation so that their raw materials and labor power can be used for the good of the people of their country, not for the profit of a foreign investor. In the US, workers are refusing to be exploited further and demanding their rights; there are strikes everywhere.

In short, profits are getting hard to come by--that is the crisis of imperialism.

It's like a pack of wolves, all hungry, but with only one bone among them. If there are fewer wolves the bone provides better pickings. It works just the same way with the corporate powers; so they're turning on each other. There are splits between the various factions, which are only natural when imperialism decays and profits lessen. The wolves have to feed on each other.

These splits showed up clearly during the impeachment proceeding. All the articles of impeachment were aimed at Nixon's crimes against his cronies, never at his crimes against the American people or the people of the world. Was there an impeachment article about the vicious cutbacks of funds for welfare programs? For not paying taxes? Was there an article about the criminal bombing of the civilian population of North Vietnam? Or Cambodia? Of course not.

But Nixon's crimes against the people who collaborated with him in running this country were all laid out. Watergate and the cover-up--a crime against the Democratic party. Refusal to honor subpoenas from various governmental bodies--a crime against the privileged group. Even the debate over the illegal bombing of Cambodia did not center on the crimes against the Cambodian people, but on the fact that this bombing was kept secret from other members of the US government. Nixon's obvious contempt for the people of this country, proved time and time again by his Watergate speeches (how dumb do we think we are, anyhow?) was never mentioned.

The corporate owners of the country are used to the kind of in-fighting which goes on in and around the White House and the halls of Congress. Only when the people began to surge forward did they feel it necessary to take action against Nixon and his gang. Unity among the people was on the rise: people were seeing that the government did not act in the interests of the majority of the people. Unity among the people, in opposition to a government of big business, is a real threat. So Nixon was ousted. There could not be a trial of Nixon on the basis of his crimes against the people, because big business, the military, and Congress were all partners in those crimes.

Just what does Nixon's resignation

mean? Despite pious pronouncements of the new president, it doesn't mean that inflation is over. Life isn't going to get better for the millions of unemployed, or poor, or working people. A change in faces in the White House can't make these changes happen, particularly when one of these "new faces" belongs to Nelson Rockefeller whose family has been historically one of the most vicious enemies of American workers.

It does not mean, as many commentators have put forth, that "the system works." It works great for the 1% who, like Rockefeller, own the major corporations and all of the foreign and domestic capital stock in the country, but getting rid of one crook doesn't make the system work in the interests of the people of the country.

It does not mean that the people around the world who are victims of American imperialism will have it any better. Billions of dollars will still pour into the corrupt structures which dictators such as Pak Jung Hee in South Korea, or Thieu in South Vietnam or Lon Nol in Cambodia use to prop up their shaky regimes. American business interests in those places and elsewhere around the world will continue to work for their own profit, and exploitation of the world's people by the Rockefellers of this country will continue.

For those who had any doubt about what the replacement of Nixon means, look at the nomination of Nelson Rockefeller. The family which has for years exploited the world's people and resources, and murdered workers here at home now has its favorite son as vice-presidential nominee. Rockefeller-owned interests, such as the Chase Manhattan Bank, or Standard Oil have now made their connection with the US government blatantly obvious. The nominee who personally ordered the massacre at Attica makes clear the fact that there will be no change in the government.

What Nixon's resignation does mean is that the people of this country have a real power when we unite. That Nixon was forced out of office shows that the country's real rulers and owners are scared of growing unity. That they felt it necessary to try to co-opt the growing movement for universal unconditional amnesty again demonstrates that they feel threatened. The expanding peoples movement will keep on growing and unifying; the threat to the now faces in Washington will be even greater than the threat which finally Kicked Nixon Out!

UNITY-STRUGGLE-VICTORY

VIETNAMESE STUDENTS FIGHT DEPORTATION

(Los Angeles, CA) -- Seven South Vietnamese students brought to the U. S. five years ago on U. S. Agency for International Development (AID) sponsored scholarships are now fighting deportation proceedings ordered by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). The deportation proceedings against the students were begun after they had been denied political asylum

in the U. S. by the INS, on advice from Sec. of State Kissinger and the Dept. of State. During initial hearings on August 15th, the students won a postponement of the case until next month.

While in the U. S., all seven of the students -- two women and five men -- have been active in voicing their opposition to the war and the antidemo-

cratic Thieu regime. In June, 1972, when the U. S. drastically accelerated its bombing of Vietnam, the seven students, together with 14 other South Vietnamese students, went to the Saigon Consulate General in San Francisco to present a letter protesting the waves of repression then occurring in Saigon. They have also participated in various anti-war educational activities.

In a recent press statement, the seven students point out that "although the Paris Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Vietnam has been signed for 18 months, the belligerent and repressive policies of General Thieu continue unabated. Thousands of intellectuals, students, religious leaders and other people have since been arrested and put in jail for advocating peace, national reconciliation, and faithful implementation of the Paris Peace Agreement."

Should the government succeed in deporting the students, it is clear that they will similarly be imprisoned or possibly killed on returning to South Vietnam.

Help in their fight for asylum is desperately needed. They have asked that letters demanding asylum and condemning the Thieu regime's violations of the Paris Agreement be sent to: Congress, Sec. of State Kissinger, and Leonard Chapman, Jr., Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C. Copies of all letters should go to the students' lawyer, Frank Postana, 619 S. Bonnie Brac, Los Angeles, CA 90057.



(left to right) Dai Van Dao, 25; Doan Thi Han Han, 25; Cao Thi My Loc, 25; Nguyen Rue An, 26; Nguyen Sonag, 21; Ph Myoc Con, 26; Nguyen Dang Tan Trac, 24.

HEAVY FIGHTING IN S. VIETNAM

The heaviest fighting seen since the Jan. '73 ceasefire was signed has been raging for months in S. Vietnam in areas surrounding the nation's two largest cities, Saigon and Da Nang. In direct violation of the Paris Agreement, the Thieu regime had set up some 10,000 illegal outposts on PRG territory from which it has been launching thousands of sweeps, cheating attacks, "pacification" raids, and land-grabbing operations; many of which were of division and multi-division size. The response of the Vietnamese people to these attacks has been severe. In fierce counterattacks, troops of the National Liberation Front (NLF) have retaken literally hundreds of the Saigon outposts in the past several months, inflicting extensive damage to Thieu's forces.

In an area some 19 miles southwest of Da Nang, NLF troops have dealt the Saigon forces one defeat after another in battles around the town of Duc Duc and

the district capital of Thuong Duc. NLF forces also succeeded in cutting the strategic Rt. 19 near Qui Nhon, Saigon's major link to the north. Then, on Aug. 7th, Saigon suffered an even more serious defeat when the NLF captured Thuong Duc.

About the same time in an area west of the district town of Ben Cat, 25 miles north of Saigon, liberation forces inflicted extensive damage on Saigon troops in an engagement that had begun on May 17th with what the NY Times called the heaviest fighting seen since January '73. The Times also quoted a western diplomat in Saigon as saying "in some ways I don't blame them. At some point they say 'enough's enough.' On Aug. 15th near the town of Phu Cuong, 20 miles north of Saigon, the NLF captured a number of Saigon outposts in what government sources called the "closest major fighting had come to the capital in more than two years." The next day NLF tanks ad-

vanced to within 15 miles of Saigon, "closer to Saigon's city limits than they ever had."

Noting the mounting NLF victories, the Times admitted on Sept. 3rd that "uncounted outposts have been given up in Quang Ngai and Quang Nam provinces under heavy pressure" from liberation troops. But as a western diplomat pointed out in the dispatch, "the communists are just taking back what they consider to be theirs." Despite the impossibility of maintaining the Thieu regime in the long run the US still seems determined to go down with the sinking ship. Pres. Ford had already made it clear that he will continue Nixon's disastrous policies in Indochina no matter what the cost may be. In an ominous reflection of this decision, the PRG mission in Paris reported on Aug. 6th that American pilots were still flying combat missions over liberated territory in direct violation of the Paris agreement and that they recently killed over 300 people near Loc Ninh. But as the PRG also noted in condemning Ford for his decision, "whoever asks for the indefinite pursuit of US aid to the Saigon regime identifies with the lies of Nixon and puts his feet into the quicksand of Vietnam." The US has no other recourse left--either get out now or follow the Thieu dictatorship down to total defeat.

**IMPLEMENT THE AGREEMENTS!
END ALL AID TO THIEU & LON NOL!**

VETERANS' MOVEMENT

HISTORY OF STRUGGLE

One very important chapter of American history that, like so many others, has been carefully hidden from the American people is the history of the veterans' movement in the US. Traditionally, the way our "history" books have dealt with the story of the people's movements, the struggles against exploitation, racism and repression, has been to pretend that they never existed - simply omit any mention of them at all or so greatly distort what really happened as to literally rewrite history. Such is the case with the story of the veterans' movement: a history of militant struggle that goes all the way back to the very birth of our nation. In a series of articles, Winter Soldier will begin the process of telling the real history of the veterans' movement - a movement that is alive and just as much a part of our society today, in 1974 as it was two hundred years ago.

The growing mass movement of veterans we see today in the US is not an isolated phenomenon. Its roots go all the way back to the period after our Revolutionary War. Then, and after every major war the US has been involved in, veterans have organized as a group to fight for a decent standard of living and for the fulfillment of the promises the government made to them while they were in the service. This was not just coincidence either. After each of these wars, there was an initial period of brief economic prosperity followed by a deep economic crisis. In each of these economic depressions following on the heels of a war, veterans were among the very first to really feel the pinch. Organizing to fight for their rights and for decent benefits was a simple matter of survival.

In 1783, just after the Revolution, a group of Revolutionary War vets organized a "Pay March" to the Continental Congress, then sitting in Philadelphia. While the generals of the war, like Washington and Lafayette, had been rewarded for their service with large pensions and land grants, the enlisted men who had actually fought the war had not even received their pay since the Battle of Yorktown two years earlier. With a logic as sound today as it was then, the "Pay Marchers" felt they had a better chance of getting their back salaries by marching on Congress and forcing it to act rather than by waiting for Congress to do so on its own initiative. Congress thanked them for their troubles by asking Washington to send troops out to attack them. Washington did so, calling the vets "soldiers of a day" and a "rough lot" (much as President Hoover would later call the famous Bonus Marchers of 1932 "criminals" and "reds.") While the "Pay Marchers" failed to win their demands, they did establish a time-honored tradition of the veterans' movement: the militant mass action of veterans fighting to win their demands.

About this same time another mass uprising was going on in Massachusetts. Today, this is known as "Shays' Rebellion" after its leader Col. Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary War hero of Bunker Hill. The severe economic crisis that followed the war caused particular hardship to thousands of small farmers who were losing their lands to mortgage foreclosures and lawsuits for past debts. These farmers formed themselves into armed bands to fight back against this. Joining with them were a great number of ex-servicemen of the war, out of work and trying to survive (many of whom were dispossessed farmers themselves.) It took the government nearly two years to put down Shays' Rebellion, and even then only by using very heavy armed force was it finally able to crush the revolt in 1787.

After the War of 1812, veterans again organized to fight for their needs. In 1816 vets had forced Congress to award payments for injuries and the burden of postwar economic hardships, even though there were not service-connected disabilities. This was the first time vets had won any non-service connected disability payments and set the precedent for winning similar benefits for veterans after each war since then.

The end of the Civil War saw the now familiar pattern of a short period of economic prosperity followed by a serious economic depression. This economic crisis set the stage for the long-run "pension fights" Civil War vets would wage well into the 20th Century. While the organization of Civil War vets, the Grand Army of the Republic, grew to be very powerful and drew the dutiful attention of every presidential candidate up to the First World War, vets and their families had to fight for every dime they got from the government.

To receive pensions for service during the Civil War, veterans (or their families, if they had been killed) had to fill out incredibly complicated forms so filled with red tape and bureaucratic gobbledegook that only a very experienced person could successfully complete them. This left most veterans prey to slick politicians who would dangle hopes of pensions before them for votes. It also subjected them to the even more insidious group of bloodsuckers known as "claims agents" and money lenders.

Often these "claims agents" were doctors who would verify the claims a vet would make for compensation. A government investigator of the time described the situation as follows: "claim agents would sit at the pay offices on pay days and seize the pensions of frightened, ignorant privates, frequently retaining more than half of it for themselves... the pensions... of Civil War veterans collected in the pockets of the loan sharks." Despite all the obstacles set in their way, however, Civil War vets continued their fight for decent benefits for well over 40 years. As late as 1918, after WWI had begun, there was still a slight increase in the classification of categories of veterans eligible for pensions.

By the time World War I had started, big business and war profiteers had learned the power of the veterans' movement. They wanted to prevent vets from organizing as an independent political force and avoid having to pay the great cost of veterans' pensions as they had to for both Civil War and Spanish American War veterans. In the next article in this series we will deal with the veterans' movement during the WWI period.



VA Takeover in Chicago

Fight for Freedom & Independence!

PUERTO RICO



Fence in San Juan, Puerto Rico

The nation of Puerto Rico has been a colony of the United States for more than 75 years, and the people of Puerto Rico have been fighting back against this domination for just as long. A call has gone out to all who support this struggle for independence to show their support around the national demonstration which has been called for Madison Square Garden in New York City on October 27th. The demands of the demonstration are: "INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!" and "A BI-CENTENNIAL WITHOUT COLONIES!"

Puerto Rico is located several hundred miles off the southeast coast of the US in the Caribbean. It is a classic colony of the United States: a country under the full political and economic control of the US government. Eighty-five percent of all industry on the island is directly controlled by US corporations. Although Puerto Ricans have their own "government" and a constitution, all political decisions are subject to approval from Washington. It is this reality that molds and dictates the lives of Puerto Ricans.

In response to this colonial exploitation, the people of Puerto Rico have begun, as they have many times in the past, to build a massive movement for independence... a movement to free their country. In 1897, they won a large degree of autonomy from Spain in their war for independence. However, in 1898, the island was invaded by armed forces of the United States, which placed the territory under military occupation, dissolved the Parliament and established United States rule by force of arms. Since that time, the US government has done everything in its power to crush the aspirations of the Puerto Rican people for independence.

Today, the US has exclusive jurisdiction over all questions of citizenship,

foreign affairs, defense, immigration, emigration, foreign trade, currency, postal service, radio and television, air and maritime transport. Decisions of the Supreme Court of Puerto Rico can be overturned by federal courts of the US, and all laws adopted by the US Congress automatically apply to Puerto Rico. The US also has absolute control over the economy of Puerto Rico. Investments total over \$1 billion, and now the big oil companies are planning to build a gigantic superport to handle their oil, something the people there strongly oppose. What makes things even more attractive for US corporations is that all of their profits are exempt from all corporate and personal income taxes for up to 17 years!

The US also maintains an extensive network of military bases in Puerto Rico, some of which have nuclear weapons on them. At least 15% of the best land is taken up by US bases.

What does this domination mean for the Puerto Rican people?

It means that their economy will remain stagnant forever. The enormous profits made by US corporations do not get plowed back into the Puerto Rican economy; they get plowed into the bank accounts of corporations like Union Carbide, Exxon, American Metal Cimax, Gulf Oil and Sheraton Hotels. For Puerto Rican workers, it has meant wages that are 50% lower than in the US, unemployment that is 30%, and prices 25% higher than in New York City.

The constant drive to squeeze more out of the Puerto Rican worker has meant the implementing of such extensive schemes as Operation Bootstrap, the infamous plan to industrialize Puer-

to Rico. What this scheme has done instead is to create massive unemployment as the agriculture industry was destroyed and the developing industries did not provide enough jobs. The standard of living of the present industrial worker, rather than improving, is constantly deteriorating.

Historically, this has led to militant labor struggles, and today is no exception. In the last year-and-a-half, strikes have been called by such unions as the Electrical Workers Union, the Firemen's Union and the Sanitation workers in San Juan. The government responded by calling out the National Guard. Early this year the government responded to a Teachers Union strike by occupying the schools with police and arresting the teachers. For US corporations and the Puerto Rican government, this rising militancy calls for only one response: more repression.

This repression has come in the form of everything from political arrests to using the Taft-Hartley law against militant workers. It has also taken the form of bombings of offices like the pro-independence newspaper CLARIDAD and the physical assault of Puerto Rican leaders. And the government is now making plans to revamp the penal code to legalize many new forms of repression.

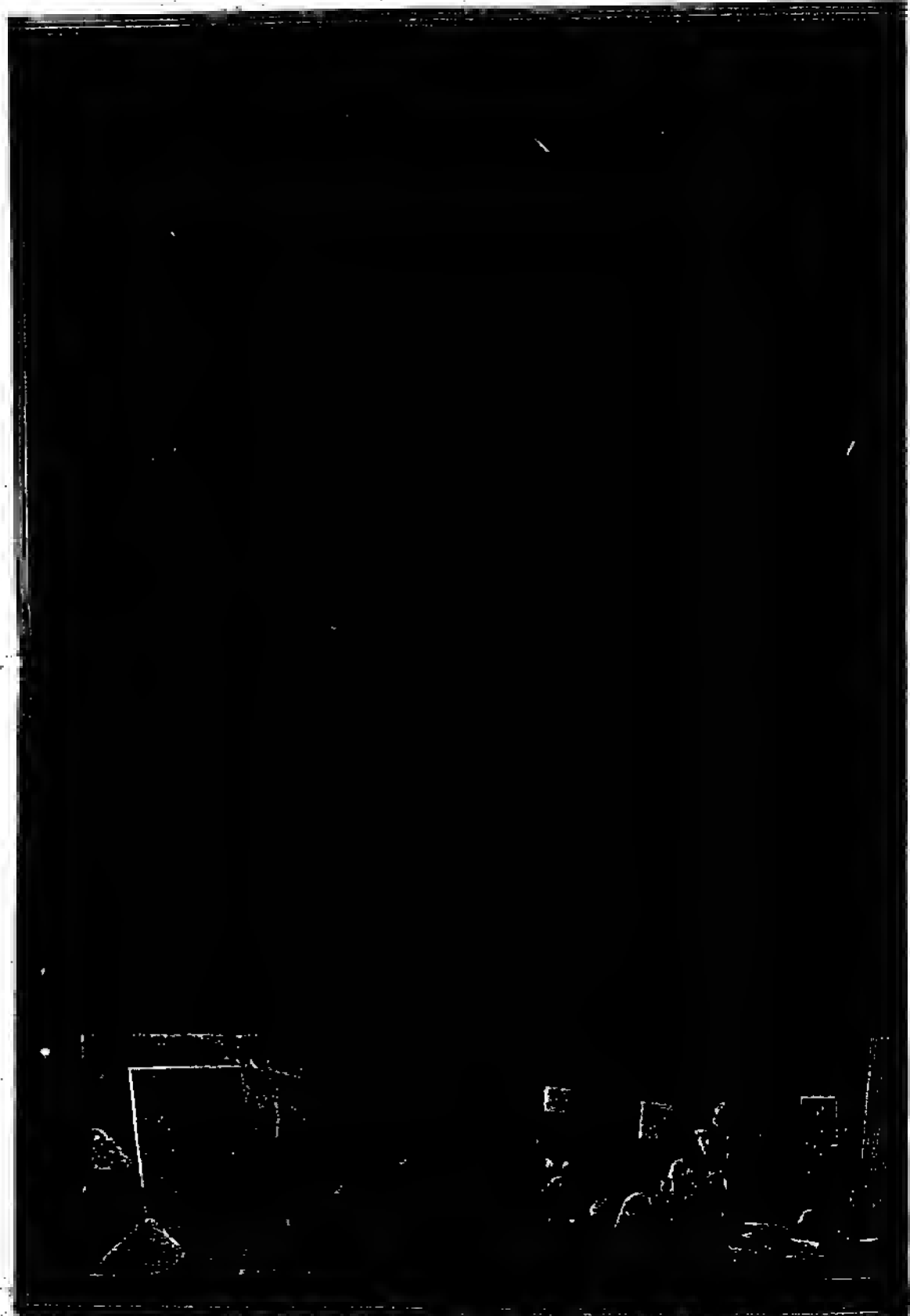
The domination of Puerto Rico has also meant mass migrations to the US. With the economic situation so bad and the continuing repression, hundreds of thousands of Puerto Ricans have been forced to migrate to the US. Today, at least two million Puerto Ricans reside in the US, more than 40% of the Puerto Rican nation. New York City alone has 1.2 million Puerto Ricans. But this migration has meant little improvement for many. It has only made matters worse. Unemployment in some cities is as high as 50% for Puerto Ricans; for Puerto Rican Vietnam veterans in New York City, the unemployment rate is 60%.

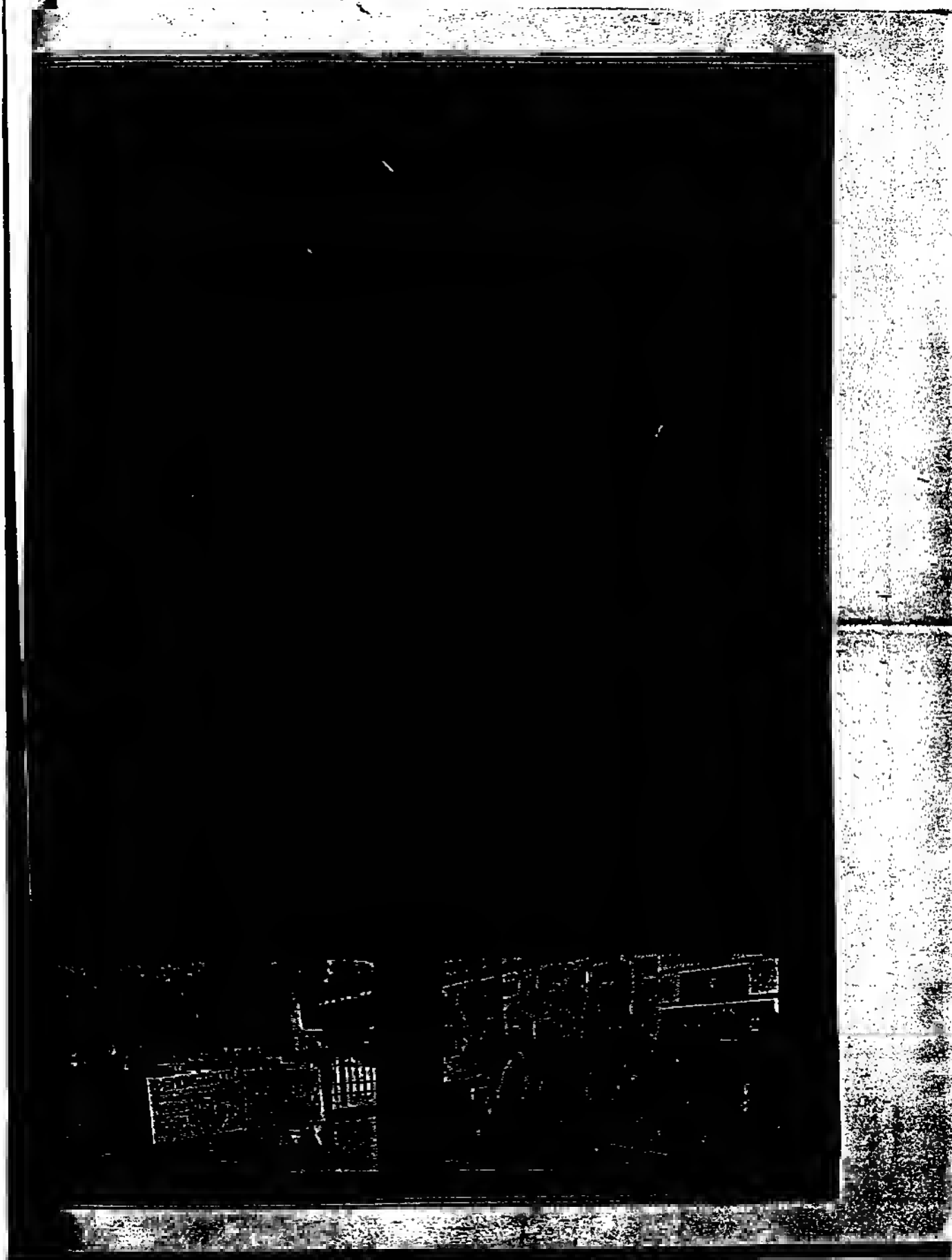
These conditions, however, have not deterred the Puerto Rican people. With the same spirit that continues to guide the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people, their struggle for independence is growing every day, gaining momentum in workers unions and popular organizations, as well as here in the US. The call for independence for Puerto Rico is a call that deserves the support of all Americans. It is a call that represents not only international solidarity, but a movement to end the cultural genocide and economic pillage of the Puerto Rican nation by US imperialism.

INDEPENDENCE FOR PUERTO RICO!

VICTORY TO THE
PUERTO RICAN PEOPLE!

(For more information, contact:
Committee for Puerto Rican Decolonization, Box 1240, Peter Stuyvesant Station
New York, NY 10009)





ATTICA

On September 13, 1971, over 1000 storm troopers under direct orders from Governor Nelson Rockefeller, assaulted D-Yard in Attica Prison and murdered 43 people. The reason for this brutal attack was not to free 38 hostages: they were being well-treated by the brothers--and 10 of them were killed by the Rockefeller troops. The reason was to attempt to destroy the tremendous unity which had grown up among the 1280 prisoners in D-Yard, a unity which had overcome the racism which prisons use to keep the people divided.

The Attica Rebellion was not the first uprising in prison. It was certainly not the last. The killing which became so public at Attica goes on daily in the prisons of America; sometimes the murders become public knowledge--as in the cases of Whitey Hurst, one of the Leavenworth Brothers, murdered in the Wyandotte County Jail, or Robert Forsythe, gassed to death by guards at McAlester, Oklahoma. More often, prisoners are quietly murdered in their cells; their deaths, if anyone hears about them at all, are covered up as illness or suicide.

The same brutality is going on in the streets, where third-world and poor people are shot by police. A few of these cases, also, become public knowledge--cases like Tyrone Guyton in Oakland, or Clifford Glover in New York City. But the bulk of the deaths of poor people are covered up as accidents. The major city newspapers give daily examples of the "legal" murders in the ghetto-prisons of this country.

ATTICA MEANS ALL OF US. And what happened at Attica prison is still happening to us all. Though the tactics have changed, the same system of repression is still trying to crush the 61 indicted Attica Brothers, now through the courts. Just as the Brothers in Attica united during the Rebellion, more and more people are united behind the fight against the prison/court/legal system called "justice."

Conditions in Attica were the spark that set off the Rebellion: 25¢ a day wage; five-minute parole hearings (the parole board is seen as a vitally important door to freedom by many prisoners--to be dismissed immediately simply underlines the futility of the whole system); constant abuse by the all-white, small-town guards (2/3 of the prisoners were third-world, the great majority from the cities). As a result, on September 9, 1971, the prisoners took control of their prison; for four days, black, brown, and white prisoners worked together, struggling against their common enemy.

Rockefeller refused all pleas for him to go to Attica to negotiate and avoid the bloodletting. He ordered the attack. Guards and state troopers, armed with inaccurate shotguns and hunting rifles (with "dum-dum" bullets--



Illegal in international warfare under the Geneva Convention), charged D-Yard; one out of ten people was hit by gunfire. Rockefeller said of his storm troopers: "I think they did a superb job." Nixon went on TV to congratulate Rockefeller on his handling of the situation. Even then, however, the massacre wasn't over; leaders of the Rebellion, even alive after the attack, were later found dead, bringing Rockefeller's death toll to over 40. The bodies of the prisoners who were killed were never recovered. The bodies of the men in the yard had, according to doctors who examined them, "bruises, lacerations, and broken bones."

The Rockefeller forces did not count on the public outrage at their acts. All their cover stories collapsed. For instance, the story that hostages had their throats cut by prisoners, the first story to hit the media, was shown to be a lie after medical exams were completed. Rockefeller's own appointed commission could only find evidence of state brutality and violation of basic human rights.

An all-white grand jury handed 42 indictments against 61 Brothers; the racist nature of the jury was so obvious that the court was forced to move the trials from Attica to Buffalo. People throughout the country are aware that there have been no indictments against the guards and troopers who did the killing. And the real criminal is now the vice-presidential nominee.

In the three years since the Rebellion, none of the original 28 demands of the prisoners have been met; instead, the state has constructed new guard towers and has armed the guards with M-16s. But the Attica Brothers, and the people around the country who work in their support, are struggling for more than just a few improvements at Attica. In the words of one of the Brothers, discussing reforms, "Our cry goes far be-

yond these realms. In effect what can happen is 'the placing of the cart before the horse.' What good is having TVs in our cells, tasty foods, programs, conjugal visits, etc if we are still coming in with 25 years? When our freedoms are still deprived? When as a class we are considered 3rd or 4th class citizens? No, the changes have to be back further than concentrating on the criminal justice system. And even further than when police place handcuffs on a person. The changes must be focused upon the road from which the horse and cart came from, and where it leads. Reform cannot do that."

The immediate battle of the Brothers is in the court where the racist, repressive system is still trying to silence them and all that they have come to stand for. And the Brothers still need the support of the people. They need the visible support such as the Rally in Buffalo on September 14 in commemoration of those who died 3 years earlier. Financial support is also needed. Attica Brothers are available to speak. Money from their speaking tour has gone a long way toward financing a lawsuit against the \$9 million of state funds spent in prosecuting the Brothers. Attica News, and films on Attica--as well as further information--can be obtained through the Attica Brothers Legal Defense, 147 Franklin St., Buffalo, N.Y. 14202. And, around the country, people are confronting Rockefeller with his Attica crimes.

Prisons and the role they play in repressing and exploiting the people of the country are one link in the chain of imperialism. Imperialism needs prisons--both Attica and the ghetto. Imperialism's strongest enemy is UNITY among the people.



Racism Characterizes Trial

LEAVENWORTH

The trials of the Leavenworth Brothers began on July 29th in Wichita, Ks. Six prisoners are facing trial on charges stemming from the rebellion which occurred in Leavenworth Federal Prison on July 31, 1973, as prisoners lashed out at their oppression and the inhuman conditions they were forced to put up with day after day. Currently on trial are 4 black brothers - Odell Bennett, Jessie Evans, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper. Evans, Hill and Jasper have been charged with assault and all have been charged with riot. They were also charged with murder, conspiracy to riot and mutiny, but these charges were dropped due to lack of evidence. Jesse Lopez and Armando Miramon, two Chicano brothers, will face trial on charges of kidnapping when the current trial is completed. All are members of VVAW/WSO.

In the midst of more than 30 Federal Marshalls, extreme security precautions, and continual harassment -- both of the defendants and courtroom spectators -- this incredibly repressive and racist scene opened. In early court proceedings, Odell Bennett removed himself from the courtroom saying, "I do not wish to dignify these railroad proceedings with my presence." During a statement, Bennett made a motion that Judge Thals disqualify himself because of racial prejudice. Bennett stated that Thals had made a reference to him as a "hey." Thals refused the motion and said he was sorry for using the word "hey," but said that it is a term commonly used when referring to racial minorities! Another brother, Alfred Jasper, began this trial with no attorney. (His lawyer recently had surgery and could not be present to represent him). Refusing to be tried without his attorney Jasper also removed himself from the court saying, "I do not have the attorney of my choice, therefore, I do not wish to participate in this frame-up."

On the third day of proceedings, jury selection began. Out of the 92 prospective jurors, only 3 were Black and no other national minorities were represented.

Two prospective Black jurors disqualified themselves, saying that a lifetime of racial oppression and experiences involving Blacks unjustifiably accused would prevent them from being impartial. The third Black juror stated he could be impartial regardless of race but at the first opportunity, the government used one of their challenges and the young Black man was dismissed. Despite Alf Hill's protest of "My peers are Black!" an all white jury of 8 men and 4 women, with an average age of 45, was empaneled.

Following jury selection, the government began to present their case -- a case filled with conflicting testimony. Witnesses against the brothers included government informers and prison officials. An example of the contradictions in these witnesses' testimony was the wide variety of stories that appeared in disciplinary reports and written statements prepared at different times. Eye-witness testimony was just as conflicting. A guard, Hobson, testified that he saw Alf Hill with a pipe in his hand hitting Ronald Teare, another guard. Hobson said he took the pipe from Hill and received Teare. Earlier in the government's case, guard Dale Croover stated that he had seen Jessie Evans with the pipe and that he had pulled Teare to safety and away from Evans. Croover made no mention of Hill being present. Also, it was revealed that the prison maintained a "Hot list," which is a list of these prisoners who are politically active in fighting the oppression of the prison system. All of the 6 indicted brothers are on this list.

Deiane testimony has concluded, mainly of prisoners who have testified about the conditions in Leavenworth prior to the rebellion. They stated the atmosphere had been very tense and that prisoners were upset over the recent death of a prisoner who died as a result of inadequate medical care. The testimony of these witnesses also proved that the brothers were nowhere near the place of the rebellion when it broke



Armando Miramon, Jessie Evans

out. Aside from their testimony, it became clear that the defense witnesses were testifying under extreme duress. Lester Fichans (a Leavenworth prisoner) stated he was in fear for his life because a prison official had warned him to stay out of trouble, or "the same thing that happened to the 4 niggers going to trial will happen to you." Other defense witnesses remarked that they had received similar threats from officials warning them not to testify.

The berderhip on these prisoners was also seen when another prisoner, Jack Abbott, testified that a Lieutenant told him that, "If Jasper is found dead there will be no investigation." After he concluded his testimony, Abbott, who has spent more than 1 year under the extreme psychological pressures of the Leavenworth "hole," muttered, "There are no Blacks on this jury," and dove head first into the jury box. The defense then moved for a mistrial on the grounds that Abbott's actions would prejudice the jury against the testimony of prisoners, but Judge Thals denied this motion.

And so, this trial continues. But what we have here is not a trial for a few assault charges, but a persecution of these brothers who have been deeply involved in struggling for their basic human rights and an end to exploitation and oppression. These brothers are not guilty of anything other than resisting a system which treated them as less than human and refused to allow them the dignity of being men. In his own defense, Jessie Evans said, "The child who is hungry in the richest country of the world today is a prisoner; the millions who must stand in unemployment lines, the tens of millions who are forced to live on the panhandles of welfare, these are prisoners too; the working mothers and fathers who must slave for their cervical wages, are they not prisoners also? When the millions of people of this country are unmercifully exploited and oppressed behind a barrage of slick propaganda, then we the people must protest! We will protest!"

The Leavenworth Brothers need your support and it is vital that this outrageous frame-up not be conducted in isolation and out of the minds of the American people. For information on how you can help, and for the needed financial contributions, contact: Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Comm., 106 E. Lincoln, Wichita, KS 67211.



Alf Hill, Odell Bennett, Jesse Lopez, Alfred Jasper

G.I.s CONTINUE

US Marines Support Korean Patriots IWAKUNI, JAPAN

The Special Court Martiale of five US Marines stationed at the Marine Corps Air Station in Iwakuni, Japan, began on August 28th. The Marines are charged with a violation of a local Marine Corps order which prohibits the distribution of a petition off base, by off duty personnel without prior command approval. They were arrested on July 12 and 13 for showing others a copy of an individual signature letter (not a "petition, publication, hand bill, flyer, or other similar printed or written material" as stated in the order) while off duty, out of uniform and off base.

The letter was to Senator J. W. Fulbright and protested the abuse of democratic freedoms in South Korea and especially the sentencing of 55 political prisoners (including students, professors, poets, and two Japanese citizens) to punishments ranging from 20 years to death. These actions were the latest in a series of repressive acts carried out by South Korean President Pak Chung Hee under his Emergency Measure No. 4 of April 3, 1974. President Pak declared martial law in December of 1971 and has banned all criticism of his regime. To date more than 40 Marines have signed the letter.

The Iwakuni Five are: LCPL Gerald W. MacCaulley, PVT Hugh G. Dalton, LCPL Robert A. Falatino - all of Hdqtrs & Maint. Sqdn 17; PFC Patrick F. McDonald of H&MS 12; and LCPL Frank Huff of H&MS 15. All 5 Marines are members of 1st MAW (Marines Against War), the Iwakuni chapter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War/ Winter Soldier Organization. While the Iwakuni Five believed the order to be an unconstitutional abridgement of their First Amendment Rights, and in open violation of the right of servicepeople to petition Congress, it was in an attempt to avoid open defiance of the order that they chose to show others a copy of an individual signature letter rather than a petition.

The Marine Corps thought different. Not only did the Marine Corps decide to arrest the five, but they put four of them on restriction to base or barracks for periods up to 45 days. The four were informed that the restrictions (done without any judicial process or Article 15 punishment) were "for the protection of the government."

The Marine Corps seems intent in stifling any expression of an opinion contrary to their own, especially when it comes to the question of Korea. South Korea is an excellent example of US imperialism in action. Twenty-nine years after the sending of US troops to Korea, the "temporary force" is still there. Today over 45,000 US troops are stationed at over 50 bases throughout southern Korea, enforcing the official division. In addition, the US sends over \$200 million each year to help maintain the army of Pak Chung Hee. Not content with all this support, however, Pak declared martial law in December of 1972, and has since ended any semblance of democracy.

The actions of the Iwakuni Five show that the military will be having a much harder time in the future to do-



Emblem of 1st MAW - Iwakuni

sending corrupt dictatorships like it did in Vietnam. The Iwakuni Five deserve the support of us all. For more information, contact: Iwakuni Five Defense Committee, PO Box 49, Iwakuni-shi, Yamaguchi-ken, Japan 740.

END ALL AID TO PAK!
SUPPORT REUNIFICATION!
FREE THE IWAKUNI FIVE!

Black Sailors Fight Back NORFOLK NAVAL STA.

On April 4, ten Black sailors were busted on the Norfolk Naval Base, supposedly because they didn't have their bats on. The ten men were actually a delegation sent from a meeting of 35 to 40 brothers to talk to the base commanding officer about police brutality at the base.

During the arrest, the men were pushed and tranced, and then held in the brig without charges for a week. Eight of the men were released, leaving only Reggie Wakefield, a Bremen apprentice from the USS RALIEGH, and another sailor. Reggie is now being charged with twenty separate violations of articles of the UCMJ. These charges stem from three incidents in which Wakefield was beaten by base police, one incident in which he was maced so badly that the skin peeled off the right side of his face.

Captain Samuel G. Anders, the base commander, has played a major role in the whole development. He was personally involved in the arrests; it was his verbal order that kept the ten men in the brig for a week with no charges having been drawn up; he is

now playing a major role in trying to keep information about the case from getting out to the public. People have been refused entrance to the brig to see Reggie and to help him publicize his case.

As a result of this latest incident of racism and harassment, as well as the whole pattern of racism at Norfolk Naval Base, two GI organizing groups in the area have launched a campaign to remove Captain Anders. The Defense Committee/Tidewater and the Black Military Resistance League have joined in a call for the resignation of Anders as commander of the base. The following are their demands:

- 1) We demand the resignation of Captain Anders for his role as the leader of a racist, imperialist and anti-working class naval command.
- 2) We demand an end to racist attacks by base police against Black sailors. We demand an end to base police harassment of all enlisted men and women.
- 3) Drop all charges against Reggie Wakefield. Reggie goes to Special Court Martial on August 29th. Almost

(continued on next page)

TO STRUGGLE!

(NORFOLK - continued)

all of the eight charges and 23 specifications praasad against him come from incidents in which he was beaten by base police. Captain Andara was personally involved in the April 5th "Hat Incident", in which ten Black sailors, including Raggie, were beateo and maced at Ander's personal order.
4) We demand the right of Third World

Gia to organize in our own national interests. We demand the right of all enlisted people to organize in our own class interests.

CONTACT: Black Military Resistance League, PO Box 6289, Norfolk, VA 23508; or The Defense Committee/Tidewater, PO Box 9870, Norfolk, VA 23505.

MIDWAY Trials Begin

Since the MIDWAY walkoff on June 14th, more than 30 people have been court martialled for UA and Missing Ship's Movement. Most of the sailors took a military lawyer, plaaded guilty and got from 15 to 115 days in the brig plus fines. Eight of the brothers, however, decided to use a civilian lawyer and try to expose the ship's conditions during their trials. The first of the trials of the eight began on July 20.

Ozzie Washington, Danny Lang and Coy Anderson tried to tell about life on the MIDWAY during their trials through their own testimony and the testimony of witnesses. They brought out the racism, brig brutality, poor living and working conditions and the unfair punishments of the ship's commander, Captain Schulte. The defendants testified about racial discrimination in jobs. Many of the lower ranking Third World enlisted people want into the Navy with hopes of getting ahead in promotions and learning useful jobs. They have now realized that these roay promises of recruiters don't apply to them. As they apxiated, though, the military was more interested in covering up the problem than doing anything about getting rid of it. One witness, speaking on behalf of the government, said, "Racial discrim-

ination is common in the world, and it probably exists on the USS MIDWAY. But what the defense must prove is that there was extraordinary racism on the MIDWAY." A little racism, apparently, is OK.

Extra duty as punishment and illegal searches are another problem on the MIDWAY, especially for Third World people. Danny Lang testified that the Chief in his division wants to get rid of the blacks, and is keeping a "shit list". The Chief, he said, would do anything to attack people on his list, even if it's illegal.

One of the main issues in the spontaneous walkoff of the MIDWAY is the brutality in the brig. A veteran of time in the brig, brother Thomas, testified to the mistreatment in the brig. Physical brutality and constant harassment which borders on torture are common occurrences, especially for Third World sailors. The government tried to counter this testimony by making the ridiculous claim that prisoners were inflicting their own injuries and that the guards never used any profane language toward a prisoner!

By August 14th, all but one of the eight MIDWAY Brothers had come to trial. The seven who had chosen civilian lawyers to help them put up a fight in the court martial have gotten heavier sentences than the other sailors who walked off. Punishment has included brig time from 45 to 134 days; fines and pay forfeitures of \$450 to \$1000; and busts to E-1.

The military was taken offguard when Mike Hammond, the seventh MIDWAY Brother, came to trial on August 14th. Mike is a 20-year-old sailor from California who enlisted after high school because he couldn't find a job. He had been in for two years before the walkoff. When Mike's lawyer asked him why he walked off, he calmly listed the conditions that the other brothers had mentioned. But when he cited the fact that the MIDWAY was carrying nuclear weapons, the judge and prosecutor froze in their seats. The judge recessed the court. Upon returning and pointing out that the nuclear weapons were classified information, the judge continued the case to another day.

The real issue in these and the other trials is not whether the jury is more liberal than the judge, or whether 35 days is better than 75. The real issue is conditions in the Navy and why the Navy only responds to protect about had conditions with courts martial. If the military was set up to protect the people of this country, it would always be looking out for the interests of this country's soldiers and trying to make the military a decent place to be. But under imperialism, the military is primarily concerned with protecting the interests of the big American corporations which are spread all over the world. It is not interested in how it does this, only that it gets the job done.

But there are ways of fighting back against this system, as shown by the brave actions of the MIDWAY Brothers. As Ozzie Washington said during his trial, "I had to sacrifice something to move things forward. It might make it easier for the next person. This has been proved throughout history." Action is the only answer to conditions like those on the MIDWAY.

CONTACT: VVAW/WSO, New Peoples Center, PO Box 26, Yokosuka-shi, Kanagawa-ken, Japan.

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RIVERSIDE UPDATE

The third trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner (2 black men charged with the 1971 killing of 2 white policemen in Riverside, CA) is scheduled to begin on Sept. 24th. The first 2 trials ended with hung juries, and since the conclusion of the last trial, this third trial has continually been postponed by the prosecution as part of a general campaign of harassment. This recent postponement was granted because the former District Attorney and chief prosecutor is ill and the new prosecutor claimed he needed time to prepare for the trial. Under defense examination, however, the current prosecutor admitted he had been assigned to the case in June, but he did not notify the defense or court of this assignment (though he had numerous opportunities to do so).

In other Riverside developments, the trial of Chukie Lawton and Rusty Bronaugh ended with a hung jury. Both were charged with interfering with a police officer and Chukie was also charged with resisting arrest. These charges stem from a March police attack on defense committee members following a picket-line by Lawton-Gardner supporters. Chukie and Zurebu Gardner were both seriously injured in this brutal attack, and as a result, Chukie and Rusty were charged, tried and after 3 weeks in court, the trial ended with a hung jury. A re-trial is tentatively scheduled to begin on October 4th.

The trial of these 2 defense workers is a clear indication that the government will go to any lengths to repress the movement for the freedom of Gary and Zurebu. For more information on the Riverside trials and for the needed financial contributions, contact: RPPDC, P.O. Box 244, Riverside, CA 92502.

New York City

VVAW/WSO ATTACKED AGAIN

Members of VVAW/WSO were brutally attacked by security guards at an Aug. 19th Yankee ball game played at Shea Stadium. The New York City Mayor's Office of Veterans Affairs (MOVA) declared the 19th to be "Honor Vietnam Veterans Night" at Shea and vets were invited to attend. After passing out leaflets which exposed the obscene nature of this attempt to "honor" vets, 12 members of VVAW/WSO went inside and occupied box seats. Though other organizations (such as the Disabled American Vets) raised their banners, 30 security guards gathered in front of the VVAW/WSO contingent and started to come over the fence. The banner was lowered but the guards remained in front of the VVAW/WSO people.

Following the ceremony, the National Anthem was played and VVAW/WSO members again raised their banner. This prompted the guards to charge over the fence and attack the group (which had grown to 80 people) with blackjacks and fists. During the beatings guards screamed, "We know you were going to be hero. We're going to kill you." The guards then dragged 6 people out of the stands and threw them into a locker room. Guards locked the door, ripped the legs off wooden chairs, and began to savagely beat these brothers with the self-made clubs. One of the brothers,

Danny Friedman, was beaten by 6 guards at once, received several broken ribs, and required 8 stitches in his head. The other brothers suffered bruises and lacerations and one received a broken nose.

Following the beatings, guards took the VVAW/WSO members and turned them over to City police. After 4 hours in the police station, the brothers were finally taken to a hospital for medical attention. They were booked on charges of 2nd degree assault (a charge which carries a maximum of 7 years). In a court hearing on Sept. 9th, charges against Joe Treglio, Dave Blaylock, Brian Guerra and Aaron David were dropped. Mike Grew's charge was reduced to a misdemeanor of "harassment," and Danny Friedman remains charged with the felonious assault.

Circumstances surrounding these beatings make it strangely resemble a set-up. Following the attack, VVAW/WSO received a call from a MOVA coordinator who said MOVA had received a call from City police prior to the game. Police told MOVA that VVAW/WSO would be at the game, that there would be a disturbance and that 6-8 people would be arrested. In the Sept. 9th hearing, a guard testified that security forces had been told to watch the area where VVAW/WSO was seated because an outbreak was expected.

In the words of one of the attacked brothers, "This is an obvious attempt to attack us as an organization... It is the same strategy we used in Gainesville to discredit us and put an end to our work." Not only is this an attack on VVAW/WSO, but it is an example of the lengths the government will go in order to stop the growing movement of veterans. This is the way that MOVA, Shea Stadium and the New York police "honor" Vietnam vets; this is one more reason why vets must unite and continue to fight back!

VVAW/WSO
827 w. newport av.
chicago, il 60657
312 935-2129

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WINTER SOLDIER

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Vietnam Veterans Against the War Winter Soldier Organization Objectives



1. To struggle for an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, advisors, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia. We support as a basis for the cessation of these hostilities the various peace proposals of the people of Southeast Asia based upon their right of self-determination and actual control of their own destinies.

2. To struggle for the immediate termination of all other operations by the United States government, its agencies, and American business interests that are designed to suppress the rightful struggles for liberation and self-determination of the people of the world. This includes the creation and maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination and the theft of the natural resources of this and other countries.

3. To struggle for the goal that all military people (Active-duty, Reserve and National Guard) be afforded their constitutional rights which are denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. We condemn the use of the National Guard, Reserve and Active-duty personnel as strikebreakers, and we support the efforts of servicemen to the struggle against military oppression. We oppose the use of the military as an aggressive and policy-making force domestically and overseas.

4. To struggle for universal unconditional amnesty. This will include a complete type corrective discharge for all vets, and amnesty for all persons in prison, underground, or in exile as a result of their resistance to the imperialist war machine as well as the clearing of all their resulting civil and criminal records.

5. To struggle for Veterans benefits, full medical care (including the recognition of Post Vietnam Syndrome as a service-connected disability), and protective employment for all veterans with priority for all war resisters. We demand an end to Selective Service, corporate hiring practices based on Vietnam service or Special Processing Numbers or desertions, and the abolition of veterans as a tool to divide the working class.

6. To struggle against racism which is historically used as a tool of U.S. imperialism to prevent and destroy unity among the people and justify the oppression and exploitation of third world people at home and abroad. We

must fight this dehumanizing tactic which divides us, and strive to build unity between all people.

7. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans that society is permeated by sexism, which forces us to later state upon women, reducing them to subservient sexual objects, and which robs both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling, lower paying jobs which are servile to nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a feeble standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially denoting servicewomen as subordinate and thoroughly subjecting them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within ourselves.

8. To struggle for the right of all workers to organize and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We support progressive struggles aimed at improving working conditions.

9. To struggle against the use of the criminal justice system (police, courts, prisons, grand juries) as a tool of political repression, recognizing that this system now acts out the interests of the rich and powerful while suppressing the majority of poor and working people. We will fight for the freeing of all political prisoners.

10. To dedicate ourselves to these principles and objectives which directly relate to the imperialism oppression of the People of the World by the United States government. We understand this war is imperialist in origin and affirm that the membership of VVAW/WSO is not only concerned with ending this war, but with changing the domestic, social, political and economic institutions that have caused and perpetuated its continuance.

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UNITE To FIGHT!



decent
benefits
for all
veterans!

a
single type
discharge
for all
veterans!

implement
the peace
agreements--
end all aid to
Thieu & Lon Nol!

universal
unconditional
amnesty!

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DATE 7/27/84 BY SP6/BJL

WINTER★SOLDIER

A PUBLICATION OF VIETNAM VETERANS

AGAINST THE WAR / WINTER SOLDIER ORGANIZATION

23

THOUSANDS FIGHT BACK!

FOR FOUR DAYS, VVAW/WSO AND ITS SUPPORTERS CARRIED OFF A SERIES OF MILITANT, ANTI-IMPERIALIST DEMONSTRATIONS IN WASHINGTON D. C., JULY 1-4. IT IS A TESTAMENT TO THE SPIRIT AND UNITY OF THE PEOPLE THAT THE POLICE, GOVERNMENT AND HOT WEATHER COULD NOT STOP ANY OF THE ACTIONS. "THE PEOPLE UNITED, CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED"!!!

0868-260856-001

US-Saigon Ignore Peace Agreement VIETNAM



One of many refugee camps run by the Saigon Government.

The U. S. government is currently funding 86% of the national budget of the Saigon Government, and now the Saigon government wants to increase U. S. aid to Saigon to \$2-1/2 billion for the next year. Through the Commercial Import Program, Food for Peace and the military assistance programs, our government is sending billions of American tax dollars to support the country of South Vietnam which is run by a dictator, top heavy with military expenditures and overcome by inflation caused by U. S. presence. Although the signing of the Paris Agreement was hailed as a major step in ending the war, the U. S. and Saigon governments continue to ignore most provisions of the Agreement.

By replacing the older-style F-5A fighter jets with the newer F-5E planes (the U. S. is sending 150 F-5E fighter jets to Saigon), the U. S. is violating Article 7 of the Paris Agreement which provides only for exact replacement of used-up equipment and not for improving the character of the equipment or expanding the arsenal. Articles 4 and 7 of the Paris Agreement are being violated by the U. S. government by maintaining over 2700 civilian contractor personnel who perform technical military functions for the South Vietnamese Army. Funds spent for field advisors violate Articles 4, 5, and 7; the use of Rural Development Cadre to recruit villagers into Thieu's political party is a violation of both Article 4 and 9. By funding and maintaining the Defense Attache Office in Saigon the U. S. is violating Article 4 by intervening in the internal affairs of South Vietnam, and Articles 5 and 7 by not withdrawing military personnel and by allowing saw personnel to be brought in. The Defense Attache Office employs about 50

military personnel and 936 direct-hire civilians who provide logistical support, communications-electronic support, budget-programming and training for the South Vietnamese Air Force, all in violation of the Paris Agreement.

Saigon's Policies

In violation of Article 2 of the Agreement, the South Vietnamese Army has moved into new areas to expand their areas of control and establish new bases. The Saigon government has ignored Article 11 by refusing to restore democratic liberties, including the right to publish newspapers and even to print the full text of the Peace Agreement. They have refused to plan for national elections guaranteed in Article 9, and they have ignored Article 6 by keeping over 200,000 people in prison and detention camps because of their political beliefs. One of the most blatant, but little-known, violations of the Paris Agreement on the part of the Saigon government is the failure to implement sections of Article 11 which guarantee the freedom to travel to any part of the country. The reason this provision is explicitly ignored is because the majority of the people who wish to travel anywhere wish to travel back to their original homes; but as it turns out, most of these homes are in areas that have been liberated, and the Saigon government is trying every way possible to prevent the people from returning to their ancestral homes in liberated areas. Through the extensive national police and military network and the prison system, the Saigon government is effectively running a police state with no intention whatsoever of implementing the provisions of the Paris Agreement.

U. S. Government Strategy

Our government had only one purpose in signing the Paris Agreement: to trick the American people into thinking that the war was over and the U. S. was finished there. In reality, the government is continuing the same policy in Vietnam that it has been following there for the last 30 years, to maintain through any means possible a government friendly to U. S. business interests.

The signing of the Agreement was a political victory for the liberation forces in that it recognized the legitimacy of the Provisional Revolutionary Government and offered the best solution for gaining independence. That is why the liberation forces want the Agreement implemented. In reality, though, the U. S. government recognizes only the Thieu government in Saigon which does not intend to follow any of the provisions of the Paris Agreement. By supporting the Saigon government and ignoring the main provisions of the Paris Agreement, the U. S. government is trying to perpetuate the division of Vietnam into two countries and maintain South Vietnam under U. S. influence.

Under imperialism, our government will always be more responsive to the wealthy class of people who run this country, rather than the majority of the American people who want the Agreement implemented. Our government does not want the Vietnamese to prove to the whole world that imperialism can be defeated. But through the continued, united effort of both the Vietnamese and American people, we will eventually defeat the U. S. strategy in Vietnam and insure peace and independence for the Vietnamese people.

(For more information about Indochina and a copy of the Paris Agreement, write the VVAW/WSO National Office).



Students at the opening of a high school set up by the Provisional Revolutionary Gov't in the liberated zone of Vietnam.

One Vet's Struggle A BAD DISCHARGE



Photo: Rick Kline

At the Court of Military Appeals in D.C.

(The threat of the less-than-honorable discharge is a major tool of the military to keep GIs in line. This interview with VVAW/WSO member Jim Christopher shows some of the effects of a "bad" discharge, and why VVAW/WSO demands a single-type discharge for all veterans).

Winter Soldier: You have an Undesirable Discharge. How did your problem with the military begin?

Jim: They began when I joined the Army in 1966. I went to Germany as an artilleryman, but was stationed in Frankfurt as a unit policeman -- an MP. I asked the Army to put me in my MOS (military occupational specialty), but they wouldn't hear of it. In hopes of working in my MOS, I asked for and got Vietnam duty in 1969.

While I was in Nam, back in Texas, my wife was in the hospital. It took me two months to get emergency leave. It was for 15 days. They refused an extension and refused to pay me in Texas. So, I went AWOL. I knew I wouldn't return anyway, because I knew what was happening over there -- the whole war thing and the fact that I was busted from SPC 4 to E-1. I called the Pentagon and told them, "I have personal problems at home and I'm not going back to Vietnam. I don't want to fight your war anyway."

WS: You also spent some time in a military hospital. What were your experiences there?

Jim: When I came back from Nam, I was pretty well addicted to drugs. After I got out of the VA Hospital, I was in there for a week before the Fort Polk Army Hospi-

tal came to pick me up. Captain Cohen, a doctor at Fort Polk, recommended immediate discharge from the Army. On January 17, 1971, I received a medical discharge. There was no treatment there for drugs. They just gave me some thioridazine and other pills and got me out of the Army.

WS: If you were discharged medically in 1971, why has the military harassed you since then?

Jim: The Pentagon refused to accept the fact that I was discharged. For 3 years, I was periodically arrested as AWOL; they found my discharge then lost it again. It seemed strange that the Pentagon had two Jim Christophers with the same aerial number.

WS: The FBI arrested you in January, 1974. What has happened since then?

Jim: I was in Dauphin County, Penn. prison for 65 days, then I went to the stockade at Fort Meade, where I was recommended for a general court-martial and Dishonorable Discharge. Through Congressional pressure, I was finally given a UD in lieu of court-martial.

In the stockade, there was one guy who was there for "disobediently discarding a match," and because he refused to say "sir" to a colonel. Most of the guys were in there for AWOL, some, marijuana, where the military used Army dependents for informers and agents. Many of the guys who went AWOL from Vietnam did so because of family problems at home, political reasons because of the war, or harassing treatment toward the lower ranks by sergeants and officers. They felt they had been betrayed by their country.

WS: How has your UD affected you so far in civilian life and how do you think it will affect you in the future?

Jim: I don't have any benefits, I can't go to school (despite four years in the military). I don't get any medical treatment. I cannot apply for jobs where the good money is because of the UD. I tried to get a bank loan, where I got a loan before the UD, and they turned me down. Since you don't qualify for the "Hire a Vet" thing, which is a racist program anyway, you get what's left. One job I applied for since my discharge said they don't hire less-than-honorable vets.

WS: How would amnesty affect you?

Jim: Universal, unconditional amnesty would give me back my rights that were unjustifiably taken from me; it would restore my educational benefits. Plus, it would open the way so I can get a better job to support my family.

WS: Over 1/2 million bad discharges were given to Vietnam-era vets; can you explain why this was so and why a single-type discharge system should replace that system?

Jim: Because the Vietnam War was the most unpopular war. Plus the racist military treatment toward the troops, long months of harassment which was unnecessarily inflicted, the confusion of going into the military believing in your country and then seeing the true side of the war -- what started it, what it was, what the military had turned itself into.

Drugs also were a widespread thing among GIs in Vietnam. GIs used narcotics to escape the reality of the war, to escape the reality of mass murder for business. There were quite a few guys in our company who got bad discharges for using drugs. The military said they were unable to adjust to military life. It was mostly poor, working class people who got the bad discharges.

A lot of guys got bad discharges because their company commander or another lifer didn't like his attitude in general or his appearance. . . . These guys are punished unjustly for the rest of their lives. Most GIs are fed up with the Army, anyway. They say, "OK, I'll take that UD." Most bad discharges are given administratively by the company or battalion commander. It's a matter of bureaucracy.

In a way, I don't feel I should be asking for amnesty in my case. But I have to ask for amnesty since the Army has given me a UD. A single-type discharge would eliminate the problem of guys being falsely punished by their government.

POSTPONED AGAIN!

LAWTON- GARDNER TRIAL

Photo: Chip Berlet



Gary Lawton at DC Demo

The trial of Gary Lawton (VVAW/WSO member) and Zurebu Gasdnes has again been postponed until Aug. 26th. Lawton and Gasdnes are two black men facing their third trial on trumped-up charges of killing two Riverside, California policemen in April, 1971. The first two trials ended in hung juries, with the majority of votes cast for acquittal.

The reason for this recent trial delay is that the government has refused to comply with court orders. In a recent decision of early June, the judge ruled that state information must be made available to the defense. To date, this order has been ignored by the District Attorney. Because of this, the attempt at prosecution was stopped. It was on July 12th, asked that the charges against Lawton and Gardner be dismissed. The judge refused this motion, and instead postponed the trial. Along with the postponement, the judge made no further provisions concerning the DA's handling of government evidence, so even though time has been given to review the evidence, it is uncertain that it will ever appear. This fits right in with the state's continual harassment of these brothers. This time hold-up could occur again and again if the DA continues to refuse to release the evidence, putting the defense in the position of having to settle for delays. Lawton and Gardner have been forced to deal with the courts and "justice" system for nearly 3-1/2 years for the simple reason that the government has been unable to get a conviction. These delays, which are the fault of the government, can only be seen as increased harassment of Gary and Zurebu.

The state of California has not only been about the business of making things as difficult as possible for Lawton and Gardner, but the defense team has also been attacked. The most recent example relates to defense attorneys Franklin Glenn and Leonard Holt. In early June, Glenn and Holt issued a statement calling on DA Morton to drop all charges against Gary and Zurebu by saying: "It's undisputed that for three

years Morton has had total resources... and has not been able to convince two predominantly white juries... (Morton should) abandon this three-year-long need to make scapegoats of Gardner and Lawton, when the real killers are roaming the streets of Los Angeles." The DA's response to the above was to subpoena Glenn and Holt to appear before a Grand Jury. The lawyers could not have testified because it would have been a breach of client-attorney privilege; thus, the only recourse would have meant facing a jail sentence for contempt. This move to take the defense attorneys out of action failed when Judge Daise declared the DA's subpoena to be illegal. Though this one attack was stopped, the harassment continues to show that the government will go to any lengths to convict the brothers.

The series of trial postponements will have to be suffered through, and the continual harassment will have to be put up with. And in the meantime, the movement in support of these brothers grows. The recently formed Los Angeles Committee for the Defense of Lawton and Gardner is planning a major demonstration for Sept. 7th in front of State Attorney General Younger's office. Along with this, the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee asks everyone to telegram or write, immediately, the following people and demand that the charges be dropped: Presiding Judge Richard Marsh, Riverside Superior Court, PO Box 1748, Indio, CA 92201; Byron Morton, District Attorney, 3935 10th St., Riverside, CA 92501; and Norton Younglove, Riverside County Board of Supervisors, 4050 Main St., Riverside, CA 92501. Also, petitions calling for the freedom of Lawton and Gardner are available through the VVAW/WSO National Office. Copies of telegrams, letters, and completed petitions, as well as the much needed defense funds, should be sent to: RPPDC, PO Box 244, Riverside 92502.

**DROP THE CHARGES!
FREE LAWTON & GARDNER!**

SHORTS

FUTURE VETS MAY LOSE GI BILL: The administration is considering killing the GI Bill for future veterans, according to congressional and administration sources. While it was emphasized that no consideration was being given to cutting benefits for those who have already served in the military, three reasons were cited for ending the GI Bill for the future: 1) Wartime service is no longer involved. 2) The men now entering the service are "volunteers, not draftees." 3) The supposedly "huge" pay increases granted to GIs in recent years. Today service men are allegedly receiving wages "commensurate with civilian scales." Considering who goes into the military today -- mostly third-world and poor people who have little other opportunity -- this must be viewed as yet another in the government's series of attacks on the American people.

WORKERS FIGHT BACK: As of mid-July there were over 600 labor disputes going on across the country, according to a national news network. This is the largest number of strikes that have ever occurred at one time in the US. With the continuation of Nixon's economic attacks on the working people of the US, there should be a lot more of this in store for the corporate elite in the coming months.

VVAW/WSO SEIZES VA: Ten members of the NYC VVAW/WSO seized the regional executive offices of the VA on June 28th for over 6 hours. The VVAW/WSO members demanded that the NY regional VA grant benefits to all veterans regardless of their type of discharge and help publicize VVAW/WSO's July 1-4 demo in Washington, DC. Forcing their way into VA regional director Paul Nugent's office, they harried the door after he hurriedly vacated the area. A letter found on Nugent's desk from the head of the VA's intelligence and security division described VVAW/WSO's plans for the takeover and said that VA security "assures me security will be 'air tight.'" There will be no mob invasion of the New York VA. Currently all ten members have been charged with criminal trespass.

BORDEN'S STRIKE ENDS: After Borden's caved in to major strike demands, Local #487 of the Textile Workers has called off their strike of Borden's Columbus (Ohio) Coated Fabrics plant and a boycott of all Borden's products. The 950 workers of Local #487 had been on strike since Feb. 9th for demands centered around a cost-of-living pay increase, an improved health-care plan, and stopping plans to move the plant out of the state. The workers of Local #487 felt that growing nationwide support of the strike, especially by various national organizations, was a key factor in their victory. They also thanked the many people who took time to write Borden and voice support of the strike and boycott. Rather than take a loss in profits, Borden gave in to demands they had earlier flatly refused to negotiate.

NO CONTRACT: NO COAL!



Brookside miners on Wall Street

The fight for the right to control their own lives isn't new to the coal miners in Harlan County, Kentucky. The struggle against the dominance of the coal operators and mine owners began in 1917; it continues today.

Since 1917, the coal operators have used every tactic they could to crush the militant miners, and though they have had temporary successes, the miners have never stopped fighting back. In 1931, the "Battle of Evarts" saw four hired gun thugs killed, and 43 miners (who were defending themselves) arrested on charges of murder and conspiracy; Harlan earned its reputation as "Bloody Harlan." When coal lost its place as the number one source of power, the mechanization cut the labor force by 2/3's, the companies got the upper hand.

In 1970, the Eastover Mining Company bought the mines at Brookside and Highplint in Harlan County. Although the miners began to organize to join the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), the company quickly signed a contract with the Southern Labor Union (SLU), a company union which agreed to \$30 per day (top wage) where UMWA mines paid \$42 per day. SLU had no safety committee, and provided a medical card which wasn't honored by local hospitals. No SLU local has ever gone on strike.

When the three-year contract ran out, the Brookside miners went to the UMWA and brought the union into the fight; in June, 1973, by a vote of 113-55 they voted in the UMWA. On July 26, 1973, when negotiations with Eastover failed, the miners went out on strike.

Eastover Mining and the coal oper-

ators could not stand alone against the militant determination of the miners. Eastover, however, is the wholly-owned subsidiary of Duke Power Company, the 6th largest utility in the country, with over \$2.5 billion in assets. Duke wants a controlled stream of coal from Duke-owned mines straight to the Duke-owned generating plants. To complete the chain, Duke wants to own the anilens and the miners.

Duke has money -- over \$90 million in profits last year -- and money means power: when miners set up picket lines to keep scabs out of the mine, Judge Byrd Hogg, himself a mine-owner, prohibited the union from having more than 3 pickets at any one mine entrance. Miners' wives, members of the Brookside Women's Club, took up the picket line and beat the scabs away from the mine. Duke had to find another tactic.

Under the guidance of the UMWA, 20 miners went to the New York Stock Exchange to picket. Back in Harlan County, during Duke's annual stockholders' meeting, they cast 55 votes for Arnold Miller, president of UMWA. Bound by the legal restraints of so-called "labor" laws, the union mounted a public relations campaign against the company, calling it the next Feral (the plant's factory which was finally forced to recognize the union after a lengthy strike), and warning potential buyers against Duke stock. The campaign has not yet proved successful.

The real battle still goes on in Harlan County. SLU officials, on behalf of Duke Power, offered two of the striking miners bribes to get the miners back to work -- and a \$5000 bonus within 48

hours of success. Tape recorders and a UMWA photographer recorded the attempt, and the SLU was publically exposed as a sell-out representative of the coal operators.

Under company oriented labor law, a striking union must hold an election after one year in order to continue to represent the workers. Duke and its union backs began to coerce new employees at the company's Highplint mine (just down the road) to sign SLU cards, in hopes that they could rig the vote in a new union election. The striking miners also understood the importance of the other mines in the area: the Brookside mine alone cannot hurt the huge power company, but united action can.

In early July, miners from Highplint began a sympathy walkout. One penitented miner, walking the picket line, was shot twice by a security guard and five others were pinned down in a ditch by automatic weapons fire coming from the direction of the company commissary. State troopers, used as scab guards throughout the strike, could find no automatic weapons when they searched the area. The security guard, arrested the next afternoon, was charged with shooting and intent to kill; his \$3000 bail was paid by the personal bodyguard of the president of the Eastover Mining Company.

On the following day, a spokesman from the Highplint mine, sympathetic to the striking miners, held off company officials with a high-powered rifle as they tried to force him to return to work. He was arrested the following morning.

Eastover is using still another tactic -- evicting the miners and their families from their sub-standard company housing (half the houses have no plumbing, water has been declared unfit for animals to drink). When asked why she lives in company housing, one miner's wife replied: "All I can say is, we can't find anyplace else to move to, there's such a housing shortage in Harlan County and around."

Lines are clear: on one side is the massive corporation with its company union; its hired gun thugs; complete cooperation from the local judge, the State police, and the State government. On the other side are the miners and their families; men and women with a history of resisting intimidation and violence, and growing support from those who see that the miners' struggle is the struggle of all those who fight exploitation. The miners' demands are clear, too: give us back the control of our lives and our union -- which means safe working conditions, good pay, medical benefits. In return the company will get its coal; without it, in the words of one miner: "No contract, no coal."



Vietnam Veterans Against the War Winter Soldier Organization Objectives



1. To demand an immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal of all American troops, planes, and military and economic aid from Southeast Asia. We cannot allow one more human being to be killed in Southeast Asia. We report as a basis for the cessation of these hostilities the various peace proposals of the People of Southeast Asia or such foreign plans as they develop based upon their right of self-determination and equal control of their own destinies.

2. To demand the immediate termination of all other operations by the United States Government, its agencies, and American business interests that are designed to suppress the rightful struggle for liberation and self-determination of the People of Africa, Asia and Latin America. This includes the maintenance of dictatorial governments, economic domination, and the theft of the natural resources of other countries. The United States should make reparations in a program acceptable to the inhabitants for all of the damage done by the United States.

3. To demand that all active-duty servicemen and women, reservists and national guardsmen be afforded the same rights that are guaranteed by the United States Constitution and Bill of Rights that are presently denied by the Uniform Code of Military Justice. We are appalled that our active-duty GIs are treated as less than first class citizens. We endorse the efforts of our active-duty states and branches in their struggle to democratize the military.

4. To support all military personnel refusing to serve against their consciences in war at home and abroad. We demand that Congress enact legislation for the immediate repatriation of those brothers and sisters who are in prison or in confinement by reason of their refusal to serve in the military. It must also involve an end to all repression and a freeing of all political prisoners.

5. To demand there be no distinctions as to types of discharges and that a single type of discharge be issued, and that this be retroactive. We also demand all veterans receive all rights and benefits under the VA and that compensation for disabilities be based solely upon the degree of disability for veterans and their families, without regard to race, rank or length of service.

6. To make clear that the United States has never undertaken an organized, open investigation of American war crimes in Indochina. In its war in Indochina, the principles of Nuremberg have been violated. As active-duty and former GIs, we recognize the responsibility and guilt of the individual soldier to refuse from committing war crimes. We also recognize that the

responsibility and guilt of war crimes committed in the name of America lies with our policy makers at all levels.

7. Resolved to fight racism, to show Americans that our society is permeated by racism, which manipulates white men viewing non-white as inferior or less than human. This racism pushes Third World People through inferior schools to inferior jobs and into combat zones. Thus Third World People are sent off to die in disproportionately high numbers as we kill Asians indiscriminately. We also demand the US military recognize the complicity in America's domestic and international racism.

8. Resolved to fight sexism, to show that sexism plays a major part in promoting war. We must show Americans our society is permeated by sexism, which forces us inferior status upon women, reducing them to subservient personal objects, and which takes both men and women of their natural growth. This institutionalized sexism channels women into unfulfilling, lower paying jobs which are servile in nature and purpose; it exploits their bodies for sex and profit; and it degrades and dehumanizes them by a double standard of morality wholly dependent on the myth of male supremacy. This sexism is exploited by the military, officially defining servicewomen as subordinate and the roughly subjecting them to servile work and the role of a sexual object. We resolve to fight sexism within our society, within our own organization and within ourselves.

9. To support the democratic right of Americans to unite and strike to protect their income and safeguard their employment. We consider all legislation designed to suppress these rights, including mandatory arbitration, to be illegal and not in the interests of the American working people. We also demand full employment for all Americans, including free educational and vocational training for all who need or want it. We refuse to participate in the efforts being made to separate us from other working people, making veterans enemies by giving us the chance of employment priority. We condemn this as a method of encouraging enlistment by the false promise of employment after service. We also condemn the use of active-duty GIs, reservists and national guardsmen as strikebreakers.

10. To condemn ourselves to those hostilities and objectives which already relate to the imperialist oppression of the People of the World by the United States government. We understand the war is imperialist in origin and aim, that the membership of VVAW/WSO is not only concerned with ending this war, but with changing the domestic, social, political and economic institutions that have caused and perpetuated its continuance.

VIETNAMESE SEND SUPPORT

(The following telegrams were received at the VVAW/WSO National Office on July 1st and 2nd, respectively.)

"Republic of South Vietnam Special Representatives in Hanoi, Democratic Republic of Vietnam, honourably transmit all support for your campaign protesting US policy towards veterans, for strict implementation of Paris Agreement, complete cessation of aid to Thieu and Lon Nol. We all wish your just demands record success."

from the Provisional Revolutionary
Government of South Vietnam
Embassy in Hanoi

"Warmly welcome and support early July demonstrations urging US implementation of Paris Agreements."

from the Democratic Republic
of Vietnam, Hanoi

Guardian

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MAIL TO: GUARDIAN, 33 West 17th St.,
New York, NY 10011

VVAW-WSO DEMO BUILDS UNITY!



DC workers show solidarity with marchers

The Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization demonstrated in Washington DC from July 1-4, bringing together veterans and non-veterans; members of VVAW/WSO, the Revolutionary Union, the Revolutionary Student Brigade and the Indochina Solidarity Committee, among others. This anti-imperialist demonstration, focusing on five demands, culminated on July 4th when over 3,500 people marched and rallied in front of the White House facing a siege bedecked with the flags of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, the Pathet Lao and the Royal Government of Cambodia.

On the first day of the demo veterans and non-veterans marched to the VA demanding decent benefits for all veterans. At one point about 20 people stormed into the national VA building to demand to see its head. Fearful of the militant protesters, the head of the VA appeared, and three members of the group talked to him. Afterwards they realized that talk is a useless waste of time: the VA wasn't listening. From that point on it became clear that in dealing with this system, (which the VA is part of), it is important to expose the system for what it is--incapable of dealing with the needs of this country's people, including veterans. This realization set the tone for the spirit of the next days' actions.

Over the next two days, the demonstrators talked not to the representatives of the system, but rather to the American people - by unified, militant, marching and demonstrating. Actions occurred at the VA again; at the White House, demanding that Nixon be kicked out of office; at the Court of Military Appeals, focusing on a single-type discharge for all veterans; at the Justice Department, demonstrating for universal and unconditional amnesty for all war resisters;

and at the Capitol Building demanding an implementation of the peace agreements and ending all aid to Thieu and Lon Nol.

As each action occurred, the demonstrations became more and more militant and spirited. Chants were heard at the White House saying, "Kick Nixon is the ass, for the crimes of his class." People standing on street corners and construction workers waved and cheered the demonstrators on. A sense of unity swept over everyone realizing that there was a strength that people had that could not be denied...or stopped.

This was attested to by the fact that on several occasions the police tried to intimidate the people and prevent the demonstrations from happening. Each evening as people camped on the mall in front of the Capitol Building, police and government officials threatened to arrest all of them and stop the next day's actions. Time and again, through unified action, the demonstrators tactically responded, resulting in no arrests. By Wednesday morning it was clear where the lines were drawn. As people returned from a middle-of-the-night march after getting some rest, a police car drove onto the sidewalk into the crowd and smashed into several people; one being badly hurt. Angry demonstrators responded by surrounding the car and basting on it, forcing the driver away.

That afternoon, it was because the clearest example of how the government feared the sight of veterans and others returning to the Capitol Building, (the site of vets throwing medals away in 1971), to demand an end to the war in Indochina, the police tried to stop the march by blocking the streets. Marchers insisted on walking in the streets,

and events quickly flared into an all-out skirmish. Several demonstrators were hurt, five were arrested and yet when the dust cleared, it was obvious that at least seven of the police and their vehicles were battered down by angry protesters. Several of the cops were seen being carried off into police vans. What the cops tried to do was stop the march...and they failed! The march continued to the Capitol where speakers such as John Young and Alphonso Riste, two ex-POWs, spoke about the nature of the war of imperialism in Indochina.

The demonstration ended on July 4th with a rousing march in the streets of Washington to the Ellipse where several thousand people gathered to listen to speakers and entertainers focus on the demands and the overall anti-imperialist nature of the four days of actions. In spite of the intense heat, and many thousands of people, the people of the rally marched back to the encampment in a militant and spirited way. At the campsite, people quickly summed up the four days of demonstrations and it was obvious that the determination would be carried back to all parts of the country in a continuing effort to build both the veterans' movement, and its larger anti-imperialist movement, by exposing the government and its corporate big daddies.

The most important point of the demonstration was the lesson learned that the government wanted to not only stop the demonstration from occurring, but that it also wants to smash the veterans and the anti-imperialist movement in this country. All of the government's maneuvers in DC were consciously designed to do that...they utterly failed. The actions did occur, they were militant, effective and built the movement. The key to the success in this people's victory was unified, militant mass action. This is one strength and it should be understood by all. It must be applied to building the veterans movement, the amnesty movement and the overall anti-imperialist movement. The political focus of our week is prime; any barriers that stand in our way are secondary. In learning this and applying it, the people can and will be victorious!

One chant that was heard again and again during the four days and that sums up this lesson is, "THE PEOPLE UNITED CAN NEVER BE DEFEATED."



The people strike back



TOP HOUSE
DOWN IN A...





INGTON
1974



DECENT
VA.
BENEFITS
FOR ALL
VETS

EDITORIAL: THE VETS' MOVEMENT

The recent series of demonstrations organized by VVAW/WSO mark a major step forward in the history of the US veterans' movement. These actions came at a very crucial stage in the development of this movement. While many struggles around individual issues affecting vets are coming to a head today, it's clear that they cannot be won without the vigorous participation of thousands of veterans and non-veterans or without linking up this fight with vets' real allies: working people, the unemployed, and all people struggling against US imperialism. We feel that the Washington demo was a good example of how this process will unfold.

In D. C., veterans' demands were not put forward as the narrow interests of one group separated from everybody else. Instead, they were raised as part of the overall struggle against imperialism and for a better way of life. Similarly, the issues were not raised with a "bat-in-hand" pleading to the US Congress, the VA or anybody else. Rather, masses of veterans and non-veterans were mobilized in unified action to begin the process of forcing the implementation of our demands. Real victories in the vets' movement can only be won by fighting for them.

In the Bonus March of 1932, over 25,000 vets, families and friends went to Washington, DC, to demand that the government fulfill the promises made to them. As in 1932, the vets' struggle is plagued by a consortium of veteran's pimps, vets "specialists" and other self-proclaimed "gurus" of the veterans' movement who say that vets are a "special interest group" who should confine their struggle only to asking for a few mere crumbs from the VA. "You shouldn't demand an end to the war in Indochina or demand amnesty. Just stick to vets' issues and you'll be better off!" They say the veterans' question is not a "political one." But it is, and these liars know it. The government also knows it, as witnessed by the 1,100 federally funded veterans programs in the US, all set up to buy off the militance and anger of the vets' movement.

A prime example of such enemies of the veterans' movement is the recently emerged American Veterans Movement (AVM). A "group" with no real membership, AVM's only stated goals are for "increased rights for all vets" and for an "end to the disgraceful conditions in VA hospitals. Priding itself on being "non-



Some of the 3,500 people who marched in DC on July 4th

political," the AVM has tried, like its big brothers, the VFW and the American Legion, to channel the vets' movement into a meaningless and harmless scrambling for a few crumbs here and there from the VA—price the government can easily afford. AVM held a shoddy, so-called "Second American Veterans Day" on July 4th, consciously designed to coincide with the VVAW/WSO demonstration. AVM openly set up a strategy of being a parasite on the spontaneous upsurge of vets' struggles, confusing people about who was really holding a demonstration in DC on July 4th, and generally leading vets into a dead-end movement of meaningless reformism. Consciously or not, AVM in fact acted in concert with the VA and the overall governmental strategy of subverting the real veterans' movement.

AVM was well-funded, had access to the highest reaches of government (invitations to the White House and audiences with the head of the VA), and was incredibly hyped by the establishment media. It is clear that it was pushed by the government for all it was worth: to try and lead angry veterans into sterile struggles for a few more crumbs from the VA and ignore altogether the system that caused their problems in the first place. Yet AVM failed to draw anything but a meager 150 people to its July 4th rally. Why was this?

The answer is that the masses of vets are not to be fooled by the lies and reactionary politics of AVM and groups like them. While VVAW/WSO was literally being attacked by police for conducting its demonstrations in Washington, AVM led a "silent procession" of 50 vets to the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, laid a silk rose on it and

played taps on a harmonica! "Actions such as this must be viewed in context with AVM's repeated boasts of its red, white and blue 'patriotism.'" When AVM speaks of "giving veterans the rights they fought to protect" and how they must do homes to the "flag we fought for," it is in fact saying that the war in Indochina was right, that they are proud of their role in it and that we should support the government on such future ventures. To Vietnam-era vets this is an intolerable position. The grand total of 150 people that showed up at the AVM rally shows that vets aren't swallowing these lies.

Ho Chi Minh said that imperialism is a two-headed monster, sucking the blood of the people of the colonies with one head, while it sucks the blood of the working class of its own country with the other head. Vietnam-era veterans, like their brothers and sisters of the 1932 Bonus March, have seen both sides of this monster and know that both sides must be fought at the same time. The struggle of veterans cannot be separated from the struggle of all working people here in the US or from the liberation struggles of the people around the world fighting to free themselves from the boot of US imperialism. Efforts to confine the struggle to vets' issues alone can only be to the advantage of our enemy. As was shown by our victory in DC, the key to future victories for the vets' movement is unity and a commitment to militant, mass action.

**BUILD THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST
VETERANS' MOVEMENT!
UNITY-STRUGGLE-VICTORY!**

TRIAL DATES SET!

Leavenworth

Murder charges against four black Leavenworth Brothers (Odell Bennett, Jesse Evans, Alf Hill and Alfred Jasper) were dropped on June 21st. The dropping of these charges occurred because the government admitted they had no evidence. These charges were originally brought against the Brothers as a result of the July 31, 1973 rebellion which happened at the Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary in Kansas in response to the repression and inhuman conditions existing in that prison.

Judge Thais (the judge who will preside over the trials) also ordered that these four prisoners are to go on trial in Wichita beginning July 29th. The charges they are still facing are assault and conspiracy to riot and mutiny. The other two Chicano Brothers, Jesse Lopez and Armondo Miramon, have been charged with kidnapping and their trial is scheduled for August 12th.

In other developments, the Brothers won a victory regarding their motion

to be transferred from Leavenworth to a County Jail. The reason the motion was filed is because the Brothers felt they could not prepare an adequate defense due to the continued repression within the prison and because many of the guards who are to testify against the Brothers are still working in and around the Segregation Unit where the prisoners were being held. That granted this "motion to transfer" and the Brothers have been moved. Blatant racism is reflected in this transfer, however, as the black brothers were sent to the Sedgwick County Jail in Wichita, while the Chicano brothers were moved to the Harvey County Jail in Newton, KS. Though this division of the races has occurred, the six Brothers still remain united, and the granting of the motion is seen as a victory. It is vitally important for the well-being of the Brothers that they are no longer behind the walls of Leavenworth.

As the trials approach, it is clear

that the government has some doubts about the credibility of their case against the prisoners. The murder charges against Bennett, Evans, Hill and Jasper were not dropped out of the goodness of anybody's heart. They were dropped because there simply is no case, because the Brothers were originally charged as a result of their political involvement in speaking out against the repression of prison life, and because the prison administration needed someone to "pay" for the uprising which happened last July. But we may assume that because the government knows they cannot "bang" the Brothers with murder, they will be pushing even harder to try to make the other charges stick.

The Brothers need your help. We ask that everyone send a postcard to Judge Thais (U.S. District Court, Federal Building, Wichita, KS) demanding that the trials be further postponed (this is because lawyers only entered the case a month ago, because witnesses still need to be interviewed, and because an extensive FBI report must be researched). Also, funds for the defense are still needed. If people can spare a contribution, or wish further information, contact: Leavenworth Brothers Offense/Defense Committee, P.O. Box 5818, Kansas City, MO 64111.

Railroading Continues

HOOD TRIAL



Bob Hood

Bob Hood, a leader in the Oakland California chapter of VVAW/WSO still has not gone to trial on charges of assaulting an Oakland police officer with a deadly weapon. On Feb. 6th Bob was viciously beaten by Officer Ted Burrows of the Oakland PD and then arrested for assaulting Burrows with a deadly weapon. (A 3" pocket knife was found in Bob's pocket after he was arrested and handcuffed!) Despite the fact that Bob has already passed a lie detector test proving his innocence in this frameup, the state is apparently going ahead with its plans to prosecute anyway.

It is clear that the only evidence that the state has on Bob Hood is Officer Burrows' allegations and lies. The defense has learned that many complaints have been registered against Burrows, yet the Oakland PD has revealed only one case, in which Burrows was "reprimanded" for beating a 61-year-old man without provocation. Despite that, in a pre-trial motion, Superior

Court Judge Koford ordered that the defense be given all personnel files on Burrows relating to citizen complaints of harassment and the use of force and violence: the Oakland PD and the DA have refused to do so, claiming an "official information" privilege. The defense feels strongly that it has a right to those files on Officer Burrows and does not intend to go to trial until they are released by the DA. These records will substantiate what is already widely known in the community: Officer Ted Burrows is a brutal and racist police officer who makes a practice of railroading innocent people into jail with lies to cover his own crimes. Additional hearings on the issue of these files are to be held before Bob's trial will finally begin. It is now tentatively expected to start sometime this fall.

Bob needs your support. Letters of protest should be sent to: Lowell Jensen, Alameda County DA, 1225 Fallon, Oakland, CA., or Officer E. Wilson, Internal Affairs Div., Oakland PD, 455 7th St, Oakland, CA. For donations or information, contact: VVAW/WSO, Legal Defense Comm., 4949 Telegraph Ave, Oakland, CA. Tel: (415) 658-7806.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

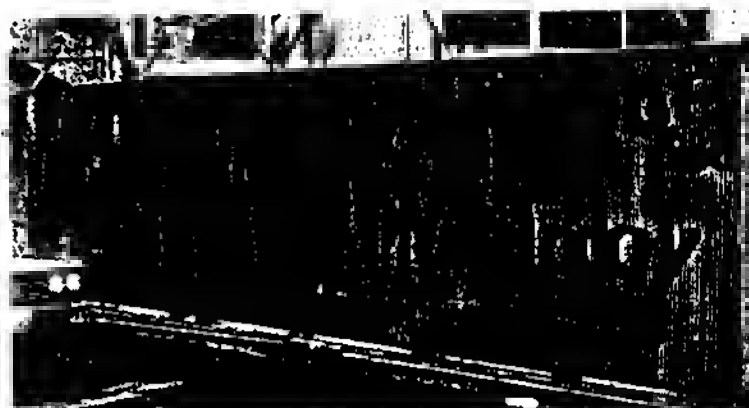
G.I.S CONTINUE

Sailors Fight Back USS MIDWAY

(Yokosuka, Japan) The USS MIDWAY left Yokosuka, Japan, on June 14th headed for the "Japan Operations Area." It left behind 60 - 100 of its crew of 4200. These sailors refused to go with the ship in protest against the conditions enlisted people face aboard the carrier and because the ship is homeported in Japan. (Homeport is a term which refers to the city or port which a ship returns to after it finishes going on a maneuver. The MIDWAY is the first US ship to be homeported outside the US.) Most of the sailors went into hiding immediately and scattered all over the Tokyo/Yokosuka area. The walkout was a spontaneous action which included black, white and brown sailors who were led up with the MIDWAY.

By July 4th, about 35 sailors had returned; at least 20 were still out. The rest of the crew and they were sentenced up to three months at hard labor after entering pre-trial guilty pleas. In the past, sailors who missed the ship would go to Captain's Mast - a semi-legal procedure resulting in up to 30 days in the ship's brig. But Captain Schulte, hoping to discourage such a protest from occurring again, has decided to send the other men to Special Courts Martial where they will face up to 6 months in the brig and a Bad Conduct Discharge.

The VVAW/WSO chapter in Yokosuka has formed a defense committee to support these brothers, and with the help of lawyers from the National Lawyers Guild Military Law Office in Yokosuka, they have talked with 22 of the AWOL sailors. Ten of them (nine black and one white) have requested the lawyers to defend them at their court-martial. In addition, on June 30th, the VVAW/WSO chapter and the Yokosuka Citizens Group (an anti-imperialist group of young people) sponsored a concert at which active duty GIs from other bases and many Japanese groups expressed solidarity with the MIDWAY crew. Three hundred GIs attended.



Peace in Yokosuka urging sailors to walk out on June 14th.

Photo: Yokosuka VVAW/WSO

HOMEPORTING

The USS MIDWAY is the first and only carrier to be homeported outside the United States, and is scheduled for a 5-year stay. It arrived in Yokosuka on October 5, 1973, opposed by daily demonstrations of up to 30,000 Japanese citizens. Most of the crew didn't volunteer, but were sent there from Navy schools as their first duty station, and they are well aware that the Japanese don't want the MIDWAY in Japan.

The reason for homeporting of the MIDWAY in Japan goes back to the beginning of this century when the US began to expand its business operations in Asia and the western Pacific. Today that drive for profits in the Pacific is stronger than ever. Hundreds of US multinational corporations are trying to gain control of raw materials sources and cheap labor in the area. They are also trying to hold onto what they already have. By developing the Nixon Doctrine and the policy of homeporting, our government is doing everything it can to help these multinational corporations.

The Nixon Doctrine was developed explicitly to maintain US imperialism abroad. Under this Doctrine, US ground troops overseas will be gradually withdrawn, while the Navy and Air Force become the main branches of the mili-

tary for policing the world. The Navy will probably be the most important branch during the years to come because it is a strong, sophisticated, mobile force. Using giant carriers like the MIDWAY, homeporting is a powerful political tool. Five thousand people floating into your harbor tells you the US is interested as hell in the area.

Another aspect of the Nixon Doctrine is the use of regional allies such as Japan to protect both Japanese and US corporate interests in places like South Korea, The Philippines, Indochina and Indonesia. With US bases all over Japan and the US controlling the seas lanes, Japan will remain a reliable, but competitive, ally. It's an accident that the first US aircraft carrier to be homeported in the Pacific is in Japan.

Homeporting is expansion in the name of readiness. It is a commitment which can go almost unnoticed by the American people and Congress. But it is not going unnoticed by the Japanese people or the GIs stationed on the MIDWAY. Through continued united action by the American and Japanese people and the continued support of the militant struggle of GIs on the MIDWAY, homeporting can be defeated.

CONTACT: VVAW/WSO, New Peoples Center, PO Box 26, Yokosuka, Japan.

TO STRUGGLE!

MIDWAY Sailors Speak Out

(The following statements were made by five different MIDWAY sailors about conditions on the MIDWAY.)

Jobs -

I had a recommendation that I was supposed to get into photography. They told me that they had made a mistake - they lived too cooly - because when I was in boot camp, they sent me to a seaman's school and I was supposed to go to an airman's school. Still again I was supposed to get what I wanted because I signed a contract for photography - the contract that I was supposed to come over here for 2 years.

I am in 3rd division which is boatswain's mate. This is one of the hardest jobs on the ship. When I went to be interviewed for the job that I was going to be getting, all they did was look at my records and say boatswain's mate. And when I asked the man how come I couldn't get photography, he said they didn't have room. About 2 seconds later another black man came right behind me and they told him he could get into photography. But when he went to the officer in charge he was told he couldn't get in.

Boatswain's mate is the division where they paint the ship and they handle the unrape (underway replenishment). This is real dangerous, like my job in the unrape is holding a phone line and you hold this line so the other ship can hear you talking. They don't give you any gloves.

Working conditions -

I work in #1 Engine room. In port it's OK. You work 8 hours a day and you get your liberty until 7:30. But when you're out to sea, you work 16 hours a day and you sleep about 6 or 7.

MIDWAY Sailors' Demands

1. END RACISM ON THE MIDWAY
2. IMPROVE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS
3. END BRUTALITY IN THE BRIG
4. RELIEVE CAPTAIN SCHULTE - ABOLISH CAPTAIN'S MASTS
5. END HOMEPORTING - SEND THE MIDWAY HOME
6. HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS FOR GIs

Working conditions are unreal. The heat down there is from 90 to 120 degrees. Really we don't even have to be down there, because all we do is just clean up. We do the same thing day after day.

Living conditions -

The compartments are filthy - dirt on the walls and things. When you go to sleep at night, you wake up in the morning and you get a napkin or something to clean your nose and you see black, in your nose. It's really bad, the ship is ragged.

The Captain -

The morale on the ship is .001. It's the way that the captain - I would like to use the word "dictates". The captain is supposed to be responsible for the morale of the ship, and he's not doing his job. That's all there is to it. If you interview the people on there, you'll find that about 95% of them feel the same way.

I think the problem lies in the way he feels about enlisted men. I really don't think he cares too much about us. I don't think he cares whether we pull into port. He certainly doesn't care about our morale, because he hasn't done anything to help it. In my opinion, I don't think he even thinks we exist, except as tools, like for chess players or pawns. He promised a lot of liberty ports, good working conditions and living conditions. We don't even know when the sun comes out anymore.

The Brig -

I was put up against the wall, with my face toward the wall. And this Marine - "jerhead" I call them now, I don't like them too much - rammed my face against the wall. It chipped my tooth, bloody nose, lips cut. They're just having fun with you down there.

A lot of people are getting hurt down there. If you want to go to sick bay or something, they won't let you go to sickbay. The medic comes down there and asks, "Anything wrong with the prisoners?" You have to say no. If you don't, they harass you more.

The second day, they put two 45-pound cans of gas in my room and told me to breathe them. I was there about an hour and a half, and finally I passed out. They got me up and started hitting me and throwing me against lockers.

Usually they'd come in and start screaming at me to get up off the ground. I was weak from not eating, and I would not respond. So they'd just pick me up and put a pillow over my face and beat me through the pillow so there were no bruises. The main thing that they usually did was take a pillow case and put it around my neck and squeeze my Adams apple to the point of unconsciousness. They had to use artificial respiration once to wake me up.

They make you play stupid games, like the first thing they do when you come down is they give you a working party and take you in the back room and you lie on the floor. You got to stay there and the Marines jump on you. Then they play games, like they turn off the lights and you are supposed to hit the floor, so they just keep turning off the lights. And you keep jumping up and down hitting the floor, bumping your head against the lockers and dumb stuff like that. There's not one black Marine there.

You have to sign a paper before you get out saying if you were mistreated. Most prisoners write that they haven't been mistreated or they do not get out, or they get out with big bruises.



Seven MACK MIDWAY sailors at press conference in Tokyo, June 30, 1974. (An eighth sailor was also present, but not in picture.) All were AWOL at the time.

Photo: VOLUNTEER VAW/WGO

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make checks payable to: VVAW/WSO.

END U.S.-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP!

THE PHILIPPINES



The Philippines lies approximately 600 miles southeast of the coast of Asia. As such it provides US imperialism with a strategic position to defend its interests in that area, 'safely' surrounded by sea and yet close enough to launch massive B-52 raids from its large military installations there as it did on Vietnam. In addition the Philippines contains vast mineral resources that have been exploited by the US businesses for about 75 years. To keep this position in the Philippines, the US has propped up and encouraged the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, who declared martial law over a year and a half ago. At that time he declared himself head of all branches of government in order to 'save the nation and create a new society.' Shortly after this coup, in September of 1972, Marcos stated that he did so after receiving several signs from God that this would be correct! He stated, 'It seems as if I was being led and guided by some strange mind above me.' In fact, that strange mind belonged to the US.

Foreign intervention in the Philippines is nothing new. As far back as the 16th century, the Spanish entered the country and ruled the people, while they exploited the mineral, farming, fishing and labor of the Filipino peoples. This colonial rule was met with stiff resistance and during the course of three hundred years there were over 200 revolts by the Filipino peoples. As conditions became more oppressive, the Filipino people united in 1896 and fought off the Spanish.

By the time US troops entered the Philippines, in 1898, under the guise of promising liberation to the Filipino people,

the Spanish were isolated in Manila; the rest of the country being liberated. A deal was made between Spain and the US whereby the Spanish surrendered and the US together with the Spanish fought the Filipino people in order to preserve the country for foreign interests. The Spanish landlords kept their lands and Spain was paid \$20 million. Resistance to US troops was fierce, but in 1902, the US won the battle, with the Filipino people suffering casualties of 600,000 or about 1/6 of the entire population.

The situation remained the same until 1946, when the US decided to grant 'independence' in order to continue the economic enslavement, to protect its interests in the Pacific and to maintain its two large bases, Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. From 1946 until the present dictatorship, US intervention hasn't changed in the Philippines, only its form. The Philippines still represents a source of raw materials, a market for American products, and a field of investment for US corporations. For example, from 1956-1965 US corporations reaped \$380 million dollars in profits that was sent back to the US, while at the same time only 1/6 of that total was used in new investments to the Philippines.

Resistance to the tyrannical rule of the US-Marcos dictatorship is growing steadily. Marcos insists that these rebellions are religious Muslim revolts, when in fact the real struggles are for a national democracy, and against his sham land reform programs and US imperialism.

Dating back to the Spanish colonial rule, Christianity has been used to divide the Filipino peoples. About 85% of the Filipino people are Malay and Christian. The largest national minority is the Muslims who number about 3.5 million. Recently steps have been made to bring together the struggles of the peasant Malay and the Muslims. In February of 1974 an alliance was made between the two largest sectors of the Muslim people, the Mindanao Independence Movement and the Moro Bangas Army. Present at these meetings were members of the national mass anti-imperialist organization Kaharian Makabayan, representing the Malay people.

Other developments include the formation of a National Democratic Front made up of all strata of Filipino people. Workers, peasants, small business owners and even some of the large national business owners are included in this

front along with communists and Christians. The purpose of the front is to unite all who can be united in order to overthrow the US-Marcos dictatorship and pave the way for a national democratic coalition government made up of all sectors of Filipino society.

The reconstitution of the Communist Party and the formation of the New People's Army (NPA) are also steps taken in the advancement of the struggle. The NPA is made up of mostly peasants, some workers and even some priests. Their stronghold is in the northeast and southeast sections of the country's largest island, Luzon. Peasant support has made it possible for many of these areas to become liberated zones.

In the cities activity is also on the rise. In Manila there are about 30 underground papers, with about 75 being published throughout the country. In March of 1974, many poor workers marched on the presidential palace protesting the conditions in the city where prices for such staples as sugar and cooking oil have skyrocketed over 200%. There are now annual rice shortages; the result of poor agrarian planning. Workers have staged sporadic walk-outs in recent years.

As the National Democratic Front grows, the resistance to the US-Marcos dictatorship increases. At this time the rural areas are the strongholds of resistance, but this is changing. The Philippines bears watching as the people there who are being held down by the tyranny of Marcos grow stronger and will eventually overthrow the dictatorship, as another section of US imperialism bites the dust.

END THE US-MARCOS DICTATORSHIP!



Ferdinand Marcos, Philippine Dictator



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